

# THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER,

UNDER THE SANCTION OF

THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

Vol. 7. No. 3.—New Series.]

MARCH 1, 1859.

(Price Fourpence Stamped.  
(Threepence Unstamped.

## CONTENTS.

	PAGE		PAGE
Monthly Summary.....	49	Compensated Emancipation for American	
The Sea-board Slave States.....	50	Slaveholders.....	66
Parliamentary Record.....	52, 62	Fact Stronger than Fiction.....	69
The Jamaica Immigration Bill.....	60	The African Mother.....	72
Revolution in Hayti.....	61	Anti-Slavery Items.....	72
The New President of Hayti.....	62	British Abolitionist Movements—Review....	72

### Monthly Summary.

ANTI-SLAVERY subjects have occupied considerable attention in Parliament during the last month.

On the 3rd, the Queen announced from the Throne that the Emperor of the French had agreed to abandon his scheme of "free immigration" from the East Coast of Africa, and that negotiations were in progress which, it was hoped, would result in its entire prohibition from the West Coast also. In the debates which took place, in Parliament, upon the Address, this announcement was dwelt upon with much satisfaction by speakers on both sides.

On the 5th, an interesting conversation took place, on the presentation of the report on the Address, respecting the means of obtaining larger supplies of cotton from India. The speakers were Mr. Hadfield, Lord Stanley, Col. Sykes, Mr. John Bright, and Mr. J. Ewart. Lord Stanley gave an assurance that the attention of the Government was directed to the subject.

On the 8th, Lord Brougham called the attention of the House of Lords to the objectionable character of the Jamaica Immigration Bill, and suggested its disallowance. The Earl of Carnarvon (Under Secretary of State for the Colonies), defended the Bill, but admitted that it contained clauses which the Government had recommended should be amended. He stated, however, that the Colonial Minister would recommend the measure for the Royal assent. The Earl of Airlie, Earl Grey, and the Bishop of Oxford took part in the discussion, and suggested that the Bill should be printed, but nothing came of the suggestion.

On the 14th an interesting conversation took place on the subject of the right of search,

when the Earl of Malmesbury stated that the United States were taking measures to suppress slave-trading.

On the 15th, Lord Brougham presented a petition to the House of Lords, signed by more than 800 labourers of Jamaica, against the slave-trade and immigration, and expressed a hope that a Committee of the House would be appointed to inquire into West-India affairs generally, and into the present system of immigration.

Since the issue of the circulars on the subject of the Jamaica Immigration Bill, by the Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, intimation has been received of memorials against the measure having been adopted by friends of the Anti-Slavery cause in the following places, and forwarded to the Member representing them in Parliament, for presentation to the Colonial Minister:—Aberdeen (two), Ambleside, Birmingham, Bridgewater, Dalkeith, Delgany (County Wicklow), Dublin, Durham, Devizes, Edinburgh, Exeter, Gateshead, Halifax, Leicester, Leeds, Luton (Beds.), Manchester, Newcastle, North Shields, Rochdale, Rochester, Strood, Tynemouth, Wakefield, and Windsor.\*

AMERICA—Mr. Seward has introduced in the Senate a Bill for the more effectual prohibition of the slave-trade.

Mr. Slidell has made a lengthy report from the Committee on Foreign Affairs, to whom had been referred the Bill for the appropriation of 30,000,000 dollars, for the purchase of Cuba. The report was in favour of the acquisition of the island. Mr. Seward, as the representative of the minority of the

\* We have reason to believe many others have been sent in, but the above are the only ones whose promoters have communicated with us.—*Ed. Anti-Slavery Reporter.*

Committee, followed the presentation of this report with another Bill, requiring the President, at the commencement of the next session of Congress, to present a statement of the relations then existing between that country and Spain; and also requiring a statement of the condition of the Treasury, and the effective force of the army and navy, to enable Congress to judge as to the necessity of adopting extraordinary measures, to maintain the rights and interests of the United States in regard to Spain. Mr. Seaward made some remarks tending to show the financial hindrances to the proposed acquisition, and alluded incidentally to the debate on the President's Message in the Spanish Chamber of Deputies. He thought the proposition to buy Cuba now, unwise and ridiculous.

The President had sent to the Senate a message in reply to the resolution calling for copies of any correspondence in relation to the purchase of Cuba, which had not yet been made public, saying that no such correspondence has taken place which has not already been communicated to Congress, and that he considered it indispensable to the success of any negotiations which may be instituted for this object, that the measure should receive the previous sanction of Congress.

In the United States District Court, at Charleston, S. C., Judge McGrath has announced his decision in the case of the United States against Captain William C. Corrie, of the *Wanderer*. He refuses to turn Captain Corrie over to the jurisdiction of the United States Court in Georgia, but grants his order for his arrest, and orders that the trial take place within the limits of the jurisdiction wherein he was arrested.

*The National Compensation Emancipation Society*, instituted by Elihu Burrett, has issued a statement setting forth the objects of the Association.

On the 31st of January, Mr. Kilgore, of Indiana, moved, in the House of Representatives, a preamble and resolutions denouncing the attempt to revive the slave-trade, and declaring that the Executive should be sustained in its efforts to enforce the laws. Mr. Burnett, of Kentucky, a friend of the Administration, objected; whereupon Mr. Kilgore moved to suspend the rules, in order that the resolution might be received. The motion was lost, two-thirds not voting in the affirmative.

Two Bills, introduced by Colonel Humphrey, are now before the Legislature of North Carolina. They are of the same character as the measures proposed in Maryland for the expulsion or enslavement of the 25,000 free coloured people resident in that State, many of them refined and intelligent citizens. The two Acts, taken together, give to the free coloured

population of North Carolina the choice of removing out of the State within two years, of choosing an owner for themselves, or of being sold at auction for the benefit of common schools.

The Rev. Theodore Parker has been constrained, by the state of his health, to abandon his pulpit, for the present. He intends to visit the West Indies.

Captain Montgomery, the Free-State Leader in Kansas, who has given the Border Ruffians so much trouble, has voluntarily surrendered himself to the authorities of the territory, and given bail for his appearance in Court to the amount of four thousand dollars.

The *Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society* held its Annual Meeting in Mercantile Hall, Boston, on the 28th of January ult., under the presidency of Francis Jackson, of Boston. The proceedings, which were unusually interesting, were continued through the following day.

The Annual *Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Fair*, in aid of the *American Anti-Slavery Society*, had been held, and realized a net profit of fourteen hundred and sixty dollars.

A negro slave had been burned alive, in presence of some 2000 persons, for murdering his master.

The Legislature of Kansas has passed a Bill, providing for the formation of a Constitution and State Government. If the people decide in favour of the measure, the Convention will meet on the first Tuesday in July.

HAYTI.—A revolution has occurred in this island, which has resulted in the deposition of the Emperor Faustin I., and the re-establishment of a Republic under General Geffrard.

---

#### THE SEA-BOARD SLAVE STATES.

(Resumed from our last.)

MR. OLMSTED seldom misses an opportunity of inculcating a moral lesson, and the following one, upon the absurdity of soldiering, is singularly forcible:

##### NATURAL AFFECTION OF NEGROES.

It is frequently remarked by Southerners, in palliation of the cruelty of separating relatives, that the affections of negroes for one another are very slight. I have been told by more than one lady, that she was sure her nurse did not have half the affection for her own children that she did for her mistress's. But it is evident that this loyalty is not peculiar to the black race. Probably there are many white people in Europe, even in this day, who would let their children's lives be sacrificed to save the life of the son of their sovereign. They teach this as a duty, and use the Bible to make it appear so, in Prussia, if not in England.

On the subject of the cruelty of separating families, Mr. Olmsted gives the subjoined anecdote. Admitting the truth of it, we can conceive of nothing more frightful than this

Illustration of the tendency of Slavery to obliterate and to deaden the holiest sentiments of human nature, and demoralize the individual :

#### SEPARATION OF FAMILIES.

A very excellent lady, to shew me how little cruelty there was in the separation of husband and wife, told me, that when she lived at home, on her father's plantation, in South Carolina, he had given her a girl for a dressing-maid. This girl, after a time, married a man on the plantation. The marriage ceremony was performed by an Episcopal clergyman, according to the Prayer-book form—the parties, of course, promising to cleave together until death should part them. A year later, the lady herself was to be married, and was to remove with her husband to his residence in Alabama. She told the girl she could do as she pleased—go with her and leave her husband, or remain with her husband and be separated from her. She preferred to cleave to her mistress. She accordingly parted from her husband, with some expressions of regret for the necessity, but with no appearance of grief or sadness. Neither did the husband complain. A month after she reached her new residence in Alabama, she found a new husband; and it was supposed that her former husband had suited himself with a new woman. She had now been living ten years in Alabama, and had several children; she was expecting soon to be taken with her mistress on a visit to the old plantation in South Carolina, and laughed as she spoke of probably meeting her old husband again.

A slave, who was hired (not owned) by a friend of mine in Savannah, called upon him one morning while I was there, to say that he wished to marry a woman in the evening, and wanted a ticket from him to authorize the ceremony.

"I thought you were married," said my friend.

"Yes, master, but that woman hab leave me, and go 'long wid 'noder man."

"Indeed! Why, you had several children by her, did you not?"

"Yes, master, we hab thirteen, but now she gone 'long wid 'noder man."

"But will your church permit you to marry another woman so soon?"

"Yes, master; I tell 'em de woman I had leave me, and go 'long wid 'noder man, and she say she don't mean to come back, and I can't be 'spected to lib widout any woman at all, so dey say dey grant me de divorce."

A pleasant example of the child-like confidence which a slave frequently has in his sovereign, when he is a good-hearted and trustworthy man, occurred to me at an hotel, where I had been waited upon for several days by an unusually good servant. One morning, while making a fire for me, he said :

"Dey say Congress is going to be bruck up in tree weeks—I'se glad enough o' dat."

"Glad of it—why so?"

"I'se got a master dah; I'll be a heap glad when he's come back."

"You want to see him again, eh?"

"Yes, sar. I won't stay long in dis place when he com, nudder. I'll hab im get noder place for me. I don't like dis place, no how; dis place don't suit me; never saw sich a place.

Dey keeps me up most all night; I haan been used to sich treatem. Dey haan got but one servant for all dis hall; dey ought to hab two at de least. I'm de olest servant in de house; all de odder ole servant is gone."

"And they have got Irishmen in their places."

"Yes! and what kine of servant is dey? Ha! all de Irishmen dat ever I see haden so much sense in dar heds as I could carry in de palm of my han. I was de head-waiter allers in my master's house till my brudder grew up, and I learned him; he's de head-waiter now. And dis heah ant no kine of place for my sort; I don't stay heah no longer wen my master come back."

A few mornings after this, he did not come into my room as usual: I was out during the forenoon; when I returned, he came to me, and said :

"You must excuse me dat I din't be heah to brush your clothes dis mornin', sar; dey had me in de guard-house last night."

"Had you in the guard-house!—what for?"

"Because I was out widout a pass. You see I don't sleep heah, sar, and I was jes gwine down to de boat, 'bout two o'clock, and dey took me, and put me in de guard-house."

"And what kind of accommodation do they give you at the guard-house?"

"Why, dey makes me pay a dollar for 'em. I offered dem two dollars las' night, if dey let me go. I tort dat's de way dey do; make you pay two dollar, or else dey gives you a right smart whippin'; but dey didn't—I don't know why. I tell you, sar, I nebber felt so mortify in all my life, as wen dey lets me out de guard-house dis mornin', right before all de people in dat ar market-place."

"Well, I suppose it was your own fault."

"No, sar! not my own fault 'tall, sar; dey ought to gib me a pass; why not? dey knows I'se a married man. Do dey tink I is gwine to sleep heah wid dese nasty niggers? No, sar! I lie out dah on de floor in de paksage, and catch my deff of cold first. I aint been use to sich treatem. I'se got a master. My master's Member Congress. Wen dat broks up, he mus fine me noder place mighty quick. I don't stay heah. I'se always been a family servant. You see, sar, I aint use to sich treatem. Nebber was sole yet in all my life. My missis' fader was worf four hundred thousand dollar, and we had two plantation. Nebber was in a field in my life—allers was in de house ebber since I was a little chile. I was a kine of pet boy, you see, master. I allers wait on my master myself till my little brudder got big enough; den I want to go 'way. Oh, I'se a wild chile, you see, sar, and I want to clear out and hab some fun to myself. I'se a kine of favorite allers to my mistress. She 'ould do any thing for me. She wanted to learn me to read, but I'se too wild. She would gib me a first-rate education, I'spose, only I'se so wild I wouldn't."

"Can't you read at all?"

"Well, I ken read some, but not very well. Dat is, you see, master, dere's some of de letters I can't read, not all on 'em I can't; no sar; but I ken read some."

## PARLIAMENTARY RECORD.

OUR Parliamentary Record is unusually heavy this month, but the questions that have been discussed are so important, we are compelled to give it precedence.

### OPENING OF PARLIAMENT.

#### *The Queen's Speech.*

THE Queen's Speech on the opening of Parliament does not usually touch upon Anti-Slavery subjects. The present session, however, has been inaugurated by an announcement from the throne respecting the French Immigration Scheme, with which we commence our Parliamentary Record for the current year. We are compelled to reserve our comments upon it. The session was opened on the 3rd ultimo. The passage in the Queen's Address to which we wish to direct attention was the following :

"I have great satisfaction in announcing to you that the Emperor of the French has abolished a system of negro emigration from the East Coast of Africa, against which, as unavoidably tending, however guarded, to the encouragement of the Slave-trade, my Government has never ceased to address to his Imperial Majesty its most earnest, but friendly representations.

"This wise act on the part of his Imperial Majesty induces me to hope that negotiations, now in progress at Paris, may tend to the total abandonment of the system, and to the substitution of a duly regulated supply of substantially free labour."

### DEBATE ON THE ADDRESS.

We append extracts from the Speeches of the Members of both Houses who took part in the debate on the Address, which bear upon points that are interesting to the friends of the Anti-Slavery cause.

### HOUSE OF LORDS.

(Thursday, Feb. 3.)

THE EARL of WINCHESEA (the mover of the Address) said : He considered it a most happy circumstance that friendly relations should be well maintained with the Emperor of the French, who had shewn the utmost readiness to make concessions as far as possible to the wishes of the Government of this country, as recently shewn in the case of the slave-trade, for, let it be disguised as it would, the importation of negroes from the West Coast of Africa was little better than a slave-trade. The most hopeful results in connection with this subject might be expected to follow.

THE EARL of DERBY said : My noble friend opposite (Earl Granville) has dwelt much on the absence of reference to the case of the seizure of the *Charles-et-Georges*. Now, my lords, there are very obvious reasons for that omission. In the first place, my friend must have observed that the Speech is more than ordinarily long, and it was not desired to encumber it more than was absolutely necessary. The question, however, is one which Her Majesty's Government desire to give the House the fullest information before us,

and I am quite sure the papers that will be laid before you will shew you that in no respect has Her Majesty's Government fallen short of the requirements of the treaties which bound them, or of the obligations which a long-standing friendship required at their hands. It is not customary, in the next place, to introduce into the Speech questions which may have arisen between two foreign powers, and which the Government of this country has nothing to do with. In this case the difference was between the French and Portuguese Governments, and in regard to it Her Majesty's Government adopted the course, which, I believe, was suggested by my noble friend, namely, that of offering advice to both parties. Unfortunately, neither the one party nor the other adopted the advice so tendered ; but, nevertheless, we had an assurance from Portugal that she was not insensible of our good offices. No doubt, with regard to the affair of the *Charles-et-Georges*, there were circumstances in the case of Portugal which called for all our sympathies. I will not now enter into the case, but this I will say, for my colleagues and myself, that while we never for a moment varied in our opinion as to the impossibility of separating the free emigration sanctioned by the French Government from Slavery, we never ceased to press that view upon it ; but I believe that no argumentation and no circumstance could have brought the matter home to the conviction of the Government of France so strongly as the circumstance connected with the case of the *Charles-et-Georges*. And it is creditable to the French Government to say that, as soon as the matter was pressed on their attention, they immediately directed that a stop should be put to the exportation of Africans from the East Coast of Africa. And at the present moment negotiations are going on, with every prospect of their being brought to a speedy termination, by which an end will be put to the emigration of negroes from the coast of Africa, and more active efforts made to suppress the slave-trade.

### HOUSE OF COMMONS.

(Thursday, Feb. 4.)

LORD PALMERSTON said : I am most delighted to hear, not only in the Speech, but also from what we have seen in the foreign papers, that that system of slave-trade, under the denomination of free emigration, into which the French Government have incautiously been led, has been stopped, or, at least, on the East Coast of Africa, and I most fervently hope that it will also soon be stopped on the West Coast, for it is the slave-trade in its worst form. You may call it free emigration if you please, but the men who were bought and sold were no more free when they were taken in the French ships than they were when put on board the Brazilian, Portuguese, or Spanish steamers. This traffic had all the abomination of the old slave-trade, and even when these unhappy victims of cupidity were landed in the French islands, their condition, though nominally free, was in truth any thing but free, though, of course, as Slavery had been abolished in the French possessions, it was not so bad as the condition of the slaves in Cuba, or formerly in the West Indies. But I say the French Government were led into a mistake

upon that subject. They were deceived by interested men, and were led to suppose that which was not the case, that this transaction was free from the objections to the slave-trade. Their eyes have now been opened by the flagitious and iniquitous conduct of the people of that vessel, the *Charles-et-Georges*; and if the iniquity of the proprietors of that vessel shall have opened the eyes of the French Government, and led them to put an end to that traffic, I should think that much had been gained, and should rejoice exceedingly. The French Government must remember, that in February 1815, they, in common with the other powers of Europe, made a most solemn declaration against the slave-trade. They declared that the slave-trade had been considered by just and enlightened men of all ages as repugnant to the principle of humanity and universal morality. They declared that they would endeavour to put an end to the practice which had for so many years been carried on, which had desolated Africa, degraded Europe, and offended humanity. If the Government of France, who was a party to the noble declaration in 1815, should, nearly forty years afterwards, be found practising all those enormities which they then denounced, and, after having put an end to it deliberately, and having gone farther, and emancipated their slaves, it would be the most afflicting spectacle of human retrogression the eyes of man ever witnessed in the public act of a great nation. I cannot consider, therefore, that the practice will be persisted in; and I hail, therefore, with great satisfaction, the intimation contained in the Speech that negotiations were going on, which the Government trust will put an end to all these abominable practices, not only in the East, but also on the West Coast, and on the whole coast of unfortunate Africa. I presume with regard to the transactions to which I have alluded, namely, the case of the *Charles-et-Georges*, transactions, with regard to which the public are very imperfectly acquainted, that the Government would lay papers on the table, in order to shew what has been the course pursued by the Government in regard to this matter. We all know, that by treaties of a very ancient date, and very stringent force, we are bound to give assistance to Portugal whenever she may be unjustly threatened; and it is, of course, a matter of great interest to the country to know in what way these obligations bear on the transactions in question, and in what way the Government acted towards Portugal on this occasion.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER said: The noble lord (Lord Palmerston) has referred to that passage in the Speech in which is announced the probable termination of the French system of 'free' emigration, a system which has so long raised the apprehensions, and, I may say even the reprobation of this country, and I think it is a result with which the House and the country will be gratified. The noble lord has also made some allusions to the conduct of the Government with regard to the *Charles-et-Georges*, and he has stated his belief that we should not hesitate to place upon the table of the House the papers that may be necessary to illustrate the conduct of the Government in regard to it. The noble lord is under no mistake in that belief, and

I shall take a very early opportunity of laying these papers on the table; but I may be permitted to say, that as so much has appeared in the newspapers of a very unfounded character, and garbled extracts from official documents connected with other countries, that I shall lay these papers on the table with the conviction that they will prove that the advisers of Her Majesty have done their duty to their sovereign and to their country in this respect. As the noble lord has alluded to treaties, under which he seems to think we were bound to come forward in support at the moment of emergency and trial of our ancient ally Portugal, I may be permitted to inform the noble lord that no question under these treaties ever arose. No appeals, in consequence of these treaties ever was made to the Government, and when the Prime Minister of Portugal was recently in the Parliament of his own country, when it was demanded of him why he had not made an appeal to England, he himself declared, among other very good reasons, that it was his belief that no *causa federis* had arisen. When these papers were placed on the table, they will, I have no doubt, be accepted by the House as proof that sound and proper advice is given by the Government to our ancient ally. I think all those offices which, considering the relations which subsist between Portugal and this country should ever be at command, were exercised by our Government on her behalf, and that terms were obtained which might have been accepted by Portugal with honour to herself and with satisfaction to Europe. The reason why those terms, unfortunately, were not accepted, will appear in those papers; but I believe it will be the opinion of the House, and, I trust, of the country, when they have calmly and completely investigated the matter, that the conduct of Her Majesty's Government in this respect was becoming a British Ministry and the ancient ally of Portugal.

#### SUPPLY OF COTTON FROM INDIA.

(Friday, Feb. 4.)

On the bringing up of the report on the Address, in answer to the Royal Speech,

Mr. HADFIELD expressed a hope that the Secretary of State for India would give the House some explanation of the measures in contemplation for facilitating the supply of cotton from India. It was calculated that the manufacturers of England paid to one country for cotton 10,000,000*l.* more than the natural value of the article, and when it had been shewn beyond the shadow of a doubt that a great part of the supply could be obtained from one of our own dependencies, it was the duty of the Government to do all in their power to foster its produce, and facilitate its transmission. Roads and water for the purposes of irrigation were the two great things needed. The noble lord now at the head of the Indian Council had it in his power to confer immense advantages on India and on this country, and it was to be hoped he would not lose the opportunity.

LORD STANLEY: The House, I am sure, will not desire that I should go now into details upon the question of the cotton supply and the progress of public works. I shall have the opportunity of alluding to that subject ten days hence, since it is one which is naturally con-

connected with the question of finance. For the present I will say that I agree with the hon. member both as to the possibility and as to the importance of greatly increasing the supply of cotton from India. It has been estimated that the difference between a good and scanty supply of cotton in this country is about equal to the difference between a war income tax and no income tax at all. It is therefore a matter to which no English minister and no member of this House can be indifferent. I agree with the hon. member also that the most important means which the Government have in their power for the purpose of promoting the cotton supply from India is to facilitate communication between different parts of the country. I believe that if we can supply means of transit from the interior to the coast, it will be found that any other difficulty which may be supposed to be in the way of carrying on the cultivation of the article will rapidly diminish. The Government is fully convinced that, even in the present condition of Indian finance—and that this condition is very serious I need scarcely tell this House—it is their duty not to discontinue expenditure upon public works. . . . I can assure the House that there is no portion of the business of the Indian Administration to which I and the members of the present Government attach so much importance as to that of pressing on earnestly and expeditiously public works of a reproductive character. Guarantees to the extent of something like 37,000,000*l.* have been given to railroads and to other companies of that description, and we have felt that in the present state of the money market it was not expedient indefinitely to increase the number of those guarantees; because between the time when the interest upon undertakings of that kind becomes payable and the time at which they bring back any return, a considerable interval must elapse. We have thought it, therefore, more desirable to press forward with the utmost speed the works that are already actually in progress than to begin new ones to any great extent and to give fresh guarantees.

Mr. BRIGHT: I have listened to the observations of the noble lord with very great pleasure. But there is one point which has not been referred to which I think bears very importantly upon the question raised. I fully admit the necessity that there is for establishing roads, or railroads, or some other means of communication in various parts of India, but I can conceive it quite possible that the roads should be as good in India as in any part of England, and yet that there should be very little improvement in the cultivation of the soil or in the production of the land. We may have in India any number of roads that English capitalists may like to make, under the guarantee of the Government, and still we may have very poor cultivation and very little production from the soil. I believe that unless something be done—in Southern India especially, in the province of Madras—to improve the tenure of land and to give greater security both to the cultivators and to the owners of the soil, little good will result from guarantees to railway companies. I have been very sorry to observe that the Government of Madras have been following the example of the Government of Bombay in a manner which I conceive to

be little short of official insanity. The Government of Madras have issued a commission, called an Enam Commission, for the purpose—if I understand it aright—of examining into the title-deeds and rights of possession of proprietors of land whose rights have not been disputed for half a century, and the mode in which the inquiry will be carried on—judging from what took place in Bombay—is such that if it were attempted in regard to the property of the landed gentry in England it would change this country in a week from a condition of tranquillity to one of absolute revolt. . . . It can't be of the slightest consequence to the Government whether half a score or half a hundred men hold land upon titles which, of whatever nature, have not been questioned for half a century; but it is very important that that expression in the proclamation which appeared to guarantee to the people of India their rights of property should not be merely a statement upon paper, but should be felt to be a truth by all the natives of India. The noble lord, I am sure, will know that I am not making these observations for the purpose of detracting from his merits as the Governor of India in this country. I beg that he will use his own strong sense and just feeling towards the people of India, and that he will not allow the officialism of that country, the red-tapism, the Old-Indianism—so to speak—to over-rule him in a matter of this nature. If he does, I believe that he will have next year, or the year after, to repent that he did not act with regard to India upon the only principle which could be applied to land in this country. I think that the fair thing would have been to appoint a commission, not to inquire into the titles to these estates, but generally into the whole tenure of land in India, as was done with respect to the practice of torture some time ago. If a commission were appointed to inquire into the whole question of the tenure of land, especially in the province of Madras, with its population of more than 20,000,000, and in which the land, owing to the mode in which it is held, has no saleable value, and to gain all the information upon that subject which was to be had, I think it very probable that the noble lord might be able to introduce some legislation which would give to the land, and the industry of the people, and the climate of India a fair chance of producing all that they could produce, and to the manufacturers of this country all the benefits that could result from their connexion with a country capable of producing so abundantly as we know that India can produce. I hope we shall hear from the noble lord that a commission will be appointed to inquire into this subject of the tenure of land; which I do not hesitate to say is the first and foremost question to which the noble lord should direct his attention.

LORD STANLEY.—When the appointment of Sir C. Trevelyan to the Governorship of Madras was determined on, I wrote to Lord Harris to request that he would suspend all operations with regard to the Enam Commission until the arrival of his successor at Madras. The object of the commission is not to disturb the old titles, but to confirm them, and to give a Parliamentary title to a great mass of property, the validity of the title to which is disputed.

COLONEL SYKES said, it was not the right to land, but the right of an individual to a Government tax that had to be inquired into. With regard to the production of cotton in India, the hon. and gallant gentleman said that it might be produced there to any extent that the manufacturers of Manchester might require. The manufacturers of this country, if they wished to obtain sufficient cotton from India, should make it worth the while of the cultivators in India to produce cotton rather than sugar or indigo, and, as he had frequently told them during the last twenty years, they should send out agents to India to obtain cotton.

SIR J. ELPHINSTONE stated, that, until better means of conveying cotton from the interior of India to the coast were provided, it was hopeless to expect the manufacturers of this country to produce much cotton from India, because it had to be dragged by bullocks great distances along the roads, whereby it was much soiled.

MR. J. EWART insisted upon the necessity of greater irrigation in India, before the supply of cotton could be expected to be much increased.

### HOUSE OF LORDS.

(Tuesday, Feb. 8th.)

#### THE JAMAICA IMMIGRATION BILL.

LORD BROUGHAM, in rising to put a question upon this subject, observed, that no less than twenty of the principal towns of the country had sent up petitions praying that the Royal assent might not be given to the Immigration Act, recently passed by the Jamaica Legislature. He should not enter upon the subject in any detail at present, but if the Royal assent had unhappily already been given, the matter must at some time come under the notice of Parliament. The Act had been passed with such haste, that there had been no opportunity afforded of petitioning against it. One of the provisions in the Act was of a most extraordinary character, conferring power upon agents and sub-agents to inflict imprisonment, with hard labour, upon any negro who happened to violate any of the clauses of his contract; that is to say, the indentures entered into, or supposed to be entered into—for it appears by other provisions that children under twelve years were to be brought over, as well as persons of riper years. He should like to know who entered into indentures for these infants. Their lordships could judge from these provisions how necessary it was that the measure should be carefully considered before it was finally sanctioned. He wished to ask whether the Royal assent had been given to the Jamaica Immigration Act.

"THE EARL OF CARNARVON thought the best way of replying to the question of the noble lord was to state the circumstances under which the Act had come before them. Last year the Jamaica Legislature passed an Act relating to immigration into that colony, which was sent home for the royal sanction. The noble lord (Stanley) then at the head of the Colonial Office, found one or two provisions of so questionable a nature, that he felt bound to disallow the Act. In announcing that determination, the noble lord stated that he would be glad to allow any measure which should be free from the objectionable

features which had induced him to disallow that particular Act. The Jamaica Legislature, having duly deliberated upon the question, had framed the present measure; and although there were in it certain blemishes which required to be carefully weighed, with a view to amendment, yet he (the Earl of Carnarvon) felt bound to say, that the provisions of the Act were, upon the whole, in conformity with the representations which had been made by his noble friend who was lately at the head of the Colonial Office. He might add, that his right hon. friend, who now presided over that department, had, after a full and careful consideration of the various objections which had been made against the Bill, determined to submit it for confirmation to Her Majesty upon the next convenient opportunity which might arise. Various memorials, it was true, had been presented against it; but his right hon. friend, after having bestowed upon them all the attention to which they were entitled, had come to the conclusion, that the great majority of the objections which they set forth had been urged under an entire misconception of the actual circumstances of the case. The system of immigration into the West Indies had been established for nearly thirteen or fourteen years; and having been adopted by most of our colonies in that quarter, and sanctioned by repeated Administrations, had been found to work in a manner highly successful and satisfactory. Jamaica was almost the only colony which had hung back for a time from availing itself of the advantages, with reference to the question of immigration, which had been afforded by the Government of this country. The Legislature of that island had, however, recently passed the measure under discussion, and had, moreover, framed it in strict conformity with the previous Legislation of the other West-India colonies in the same direction; so that, in reality, its confirmation would be nothing more than the sanction of a set of principles which had over and over again been adopted. He felt assured that his noble and learned friend would, under those circumstances, be willing to admit that it would be unjust and unfair towards Jamaica to withdraw from that colony a privilege which had repeatedly been conceded in those other instances to which he had alluded, and with the happiest results. In answer to the objection which had been put forward by the noble lord, to the effect that the Bill had been passed with undue haste, he could only say, that it had been under consideration for two consecutive sessions, and that it had been framed, not upon the spur of the moment, but in strict conformity with the recommendations of the Secretary of State for the time being. He should only say, in conclusion, that, although it was the intention of his right hon. friend at the head of the Colonial Office to recommend that Act for confirmation to Her Majesty, there were yet some points connected with it which were beyond doubt of a questionable nature in themselves, and which the Colonial Legislature would be instructed to amend.

LORD BROUGHAM observed, that so far as the question of the measure having been passed with undue haste was concerned, he should simply state that it had been brought into the House of Assembly, in Jamaica, on Wednesday the 17th,

and had been passed through all its stages by the Wednesday following; there having been during that interval two days—Saturday and Sunday—upon which no business could be transacted. He might add, that he had received information from the most respectable quarters that petitions were at the time in progress of preparation, complaining of the specific measure under discussion; and, notwithstanding what had just fallen from his noble friend, to the effect that the Legislatures of other colonies had sanctioned similar enactments, and that no injury to the cause of freedom had resulted, he (Lord Brougham) should pledge himself, when a fitting opportunity arrived, to demonstrate to their lordships that some of the provisions of the Jamaica Bill were at once hostile to the independence and security of the working classes, and tended directly to encourage the slave-trade, not only in Africa, but in the Eastern dominions of the Crown.

EARL GREY said, he should express no opinion upon the merits of the particular measure to which his noble and learned friend referred, as he had not seen it; but he could not refrain from observing that the noble and learned lord appeared to him to have indulged in a somewhat too unsparing condemnation of the system of immigration generally. For his own part, he felt assured that such a system would be found to be, under proper regulations—and great pains had, he was bound to admit, been taken with the question under successive Governments—productive of considerable advantage to our West-Indian colonies. It would provide the means of raising a formidable competition with slave-grown sugar; it had done much to contribute to the prosperity of the colonies themselves, especially to that of the Mauritius and Trinidad, while it led, he believed, to the happiest results in the case of the immigrants themselves, inasmuch as it was a well-known fact that, upon returning to their native country at the expiration of five years, many of them were in a position to take back with them large sums of money, and were so well satisfied with the treatment which they had received, as to consent to revisit the scenes of their labours, frequently accompanied by their friends, whom they induced to follow their example. But while he could not concur with his noble and learned friend in pronouncing a sweeping condemnation of the system of immigration, he was, at the same time, prepared to admit that the proceedings of the Colonial Legislature upon the subject required to be watched with the closest care. For although Slavery had long been abolished in the colonies, still more or less of the old spirit remained behind; and it was therefore desirable to scrutinize with the utmost closeness measures which, under the designation of Bills for promoting immigration, might give rise to a system of Slavery. It was, therefore, with some surprise that he had heard from the noble lord the Under Secretary for the Colonies the statement that, notwithstanding there were some objectionable clauses in the Act more immediately under discussion, it was the intention of Her Majesty's Government to submit that Act to Her Majesty in Council, with a view to its being confirmed. Now, after the acknow-

ledgment which the noble lord had made, that seemed to him (Earl Grey) to be a course which it was somewhat imprudent to adopt. So long as the Act was not submitted to Her Majesty for confirmation the Government might make such suggestions to the Legislature for its amendment as they thought proper; and if those suggestions were rejected, they might advise the Queen to disallow the law. When, however, that law was once confirmed by Her Majesty in Council the power of the Ministry was at an end. They could no longer enforce any alteration, however important, however indispensable it might be for the safe working of the measure, except by the difficult and objectionable course of an Act of Parliament overruling the Act of the Colonial Legislature. Upon that ground it had been hitherto the practice of the Home Government—certainly it had been the invariable practice when he was at the Colonial Office—to submit none of these bills to Her Majesty for confirmation, until they had been so amended as to be unobjectionable in the opinion of the advisers of the Crown. He was sorry to find that, according to the statement of the noble earl, that policy was to be departed from in the present instance, and he could not help thinking that it would be much safer to delay a little before depriving the Home Government of the power of amending the Bill.

LORD BROUGHAM, in answer to the observation of the noble earl (Grey), said he had expressed no opinion against all immigration, nor against all measures of this description. His objections applied to this particular Bill.

The EARL of AIRLIE had only seen this Bill yesterday evening, and it was hardly possible, therefore, that he should enter into any discussion of its details. The noble and learned lord had stated that petitions had been sent up against the measure from various parts of the country. Now, it was not very difficult to get up petitions against any Act of this kind. Nothing was easier than for the *Anti-Slavery Association*, which possessed a regular organization, to send down their agents to Manchester and Birmingham, and other large towns, and to get up a number of petitions against such a measure, especially if the petitioners had never seen it. One of these memorials had been presented the other night, and the statements made with regard to it were, he thought, both inconsistent with the fact and with one another. One of these statements was that there was no difficulty in procuring free labour in Jamaica. Another was that efforts had been made from time to time to obtain more labour, but that all those efforts were unavailing. How were those conflicting arguments to be reconciled? The free negroes stated that they were apprehensive lest the introduction of labour into the colony should have a tendency to lower the rate of wages; and they prayed, therefore, that this Bill should not be assented to. He, however, should have thought that even the free labourers of Jamaica would have learnt by this time that the English Government had repudiated all idea of fixing by Act of Parliament the price of commodities or of regulating the rate of wages. Passing to the general question of the supply of free labour to

the West Indies, it was notorious that since the abolition of Slavery the production of sugar had largely fallen off there. Many estates had been thrown out of cultivation in Jamaica, and he knew that there were owners of property in that island who would be glad to sell the leases of their estates for one year's rental. It was no answer to the owners of property in Jamaica and Trinidad to tell them that other islands were prospering. The conditions were not the same in all these islands. In the larger islands there were extensive tracts of uncultivated land, and unless the labourers were bound by indentures they would squat upon this land and support themselves. Then it was said that some planters cultivated sugar with success. But why? Because they were few in number, because the land which they brought into cultivation was limited in extent, and because they had the command of the labour market, such as it was; whereas, if other planters came into competition with them, a demand for labour arose in a limited market, and the result was the ruin of all. Now, it was admitted that in the West-India islands large tracts of land were lying idle for want of labour to cultivate them. On the other hand, it was admitted that elsewhere there existed a teeming population, who would be benefited by employment; and why should they not have it? So far from the immigrants being subjected to ill-usage, he was informed that many of them, whose terms of service had expired, had entered into fresh indentures, and had gone out again to work in Jamaica. With regard to the consumption of tea and sugar in this country, it had been said that that consumption was an index of the national prosperity, and it might be considered as in some degree the cause of our prosperity. Public attention had been recently directed to the large amount of intemperance which existed in this island, particularly in the northern portion of it; and statesmen of eminence had lectured at various public meetings during the recess, and endeavoured to prescribe a remedy. Legislation, too, had been attempted; and he was informed that in the course of the present session there was to be an inquiry as to its result. That legislation would, however, he believed, be found a failure, which, indeed, must be the fate of all attempts to make men virtuous by Act of Parliament. But there was one effectual mode of arresting the progress of this great evil, which was by substituting, if possible, for intoxicating drinks other beverages of a less injurious character; and if by a well-organized system of immigration they could succeed in increasing the production and in lowering the price of sugar, they would have done more to suppress intemperance than by all the Liquor Laws which could be enacted. He did not think that the people of this country, after having made such great sacrifices in abolishing Slavery, were called on to add to those sacrifices, and, therefore, when on the one hand slave-grown sugar was admitted into this country, it was not right on the other to fetter the efforts of the colonists to obtain free labour. Looking next to the moral aspect of the question, how did the matter stand? As the noble earl had said, one of the best modes of opposing the slave-trade was by encouraging free immigration, and thereby increasing the compe-

tion against slave labour. No doubt this country had set a noble example to others in the course it had taken in respect to the slave-trade, but it was an example which other countries could scarcely be expected to follow so long as they could point to the present condition of the West-India islands. But if, by fostering a system of immigration, a sufficient supply of free labour could be obtained to bring those islands again into a flourishing state, then the great work which Parliament began by the abolition of Slavery would be completed. It appeared from the correspondence which had passed between the noble earl at the head of the Foreign Department and Mr. Dallas, that the slave-trade could scarcely be stopped on the high seas, as the hoisting of the American flag would form an obstacle to a search; but it was quite clear that every cargo of free immigrants brought across the ocean constituted an assistance in putting an end to the slave-trade. This mode of proceeding had the advantage of being unattended with expense to the country, while the maintenance of the slave squadrons occasioned a vast expenditure. He did not wish, however, to substitute the one plan for the other, for the slave squadrons might be maintained at the same time that endeavours were made to foster tropical produce by the aid of free labour. He was glad to say that better prospects were opening for the West-India islands, and several immigrants, after having returned to their native land, had gone back again to labour in the islands. One serious obstacle in the way of immigration had been the want of women; but that was in a fair way of being supplied, and women were beginning to immigrate. It appeared to him to be the duty of the Government, whether they looked to the interests of the people of this country or of the immigrants, or of the colonists, to assist as far as possible in maintaining a supply of free labour for the colonies. He was, therefore, glad that the Government had intimated their intention of agreeing to the Bill with amendments, and he hoped that it would be printed and placed in the hands of Members of Parliament.

"The BISHOP of OXFORD said it was not his intention to detain their lordships by any discussion of the Bill, which was not before the House, but he rose for the purpose of impressing on his noble friend (Earl Carnarvon) the great importance of the suggestion made by the noble earl opposite (Earl Grey). His noble friend said that the Government intended to require the local Legislature to alter the Bill, and it therefore might be inferred that, in the judgment of the Government, important alterations were needed. He wished, then, his noble friend to weigh well the disadvantageous position in which the Government would be put for enforcing what seemed necessary to them for the great end in view if they let this power go out of their own hands. In what position would the Government be placed if the alterations, which they deemed important, were to be defeated in the House of Assembly, and the Bill became law with all its defects? The more important he thought it that immigration, properly conducted, should be encouraged, both for the native races and the West-India islands, the more anxious he was that no mistakes should be committed, because if a

bill, working badly, were to become law in this way, a cry might be raised in this country against the principle of immigration altogether. Instead of presenting the Bill at once to Her Majesty, with all its blemishes, might not the Government take the intermediate course of having the Bill printed, with the correspondence, and laid before their lordships, so that the House might form a judgment on it before it was presented for the Royal assent?

The EARL of CARNARVON was afraid that, while desirous of being exceedingly accurate, he had led the House into some mistake. He stated that there were blots and blemishes in the Bill, which would be referred to the local Legislature for alteration; but he did not mean to imply that every one of those blots and blemishes was really in itself important, when considered in respect to the general operation of the Bill. It was no doubt advantageous to the completeness of the measure that they should be remedied, but he did not see any possibility of practical evil resulting from them if not remedied. And even supposing that the Colonial Legislature should refuse (though he had no reason to expect it would) to make the alterations, there were complete powers in the hands of the Colonial Minister to enable him to bring it to reason, if he might use that expression. He must say, however, that the Colonial Legislature, throughout the whole of this matter, had shewn an honourable intention of aiding the Government. It addressed itself at once to the task with good faith, and honestly endeavoured to carry out the principles laid down in the despatch of the then Colonial Secretary.

(Monday, February 14.)

#### RIGHT OF SEARCH.

LORD WODEHOUSE asked whether the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs would lay on the table copies of the correspondence between Her Majesty's Government and that of the United States, respecting the right of search. It would be in the recollection of the House, that towards the close of last session a discussion took place touching the right of search, arising out of certain proceedings of some British cruisers on the coast of Cuba, when it was stated that the right of search had been given up, but that a correspondence was pending between Her Majesty's Government and that of the United States with reference to an arrangement for the future. He could not understand how the right of search could be abandoned, seeing that such right could only be a belligerent right, or one specially conferred by treaty, neither of which was the case in this instance. As there existed a good deal of irritation at the time, the noble earl was not pressed for further information then, but during the recess a correspondence had been presented to the American Congress, which had been reprinted in the English newspapers. It appeared that the question was still in an uncertain and unsatisfactory condition; but his noble friend had prepared a complete account of the international law, which had been handed to the American Minister as the doctrine acknowledged by Her Majesty's Government. The noble earl appeared to have adopted the principle set forth by General Cass, and General Cass was delighted with the decision of the Government; but, as to the ques-

tion of what was to be done in order to verify the flag of a merchant vessel in time of peace, he was not only unwilling to propose any arrangement, but thought that in no case should such verification be permitted. Every one must admit the right of search by an armed cruiser was quite a different thing to the right of verifying the title of a merchant vessel to carry the flag of a particular nation, because if it was to be laid down that in no case should a visit be made to a merchant vessel to ascertain her right to carry a particular flag, pirates would be allowed to occupy the seas with impunity, as the hoisting of a different flag to that under which the cruiser sailed would insure her inviolability. The same would be the case with slavers, who would hoist any flag that would be most convenient for the moment. He thought it was important that they should have the correspondence before them.

The EARL of MALMESBURY.—I have not the least objection to lay this correspondence before your lordships, but I think the noble lord would have consulted the convenience of the House if he had waited until it was laid upon the table, before he indulged in the remarks he has made, as I expect but few of your lordships have seen that portion which has been published. My noble friend has expressed surprise, that within twenty-four hours I should have held language of a contradictory nature; but that is easily explained. Upon the first day the Minister for the United States called upon me, and asked my opinion upon certain points of international law relating to the right of search, I gave him what is commonly called an evasive answer, as the subject was then under the consideration of the law-officers of the Crown, whose opinions I received shortly afterwards. When I got that opinion, I had no difficulty the next day in replying to the United States' Minister when he came again, as was agreed; therefore, your lordships will see there was nothing extraordinary in the decision at which, apparently, I had suddenly arrived. My noble friend seems to think that we have given up some great British right or privilege of vital consequence to this country. If I understand international law at all, which has not changed in our days, what is right now must have been right fifty years ago. At the latter period, or rather forty-five years ago, circumstances were very different to what they are now. We were then at the close of a very long and serious contest, by which all nations were more or less exhausted, and at the end of which no nation but England possessed any thing like a navy. The French navy had almost entirely disappeared. The American navy was very small, having lost many of their ships, and the British navy was riding triumphantly over the ocean, being the only one in a condition to preserve the police of the sea, and to carry out those points of maritime policy which the circumstances of the time rendered necessary. But it must be recollected that at that time the feeling in this country respecting the slave-trade was extremely strong, and in fact the English navy was the only one capable of exercising an effective control over that odious traffic. We could not then expect assistance from other nations, and we treated matters rather with a high hand. We were masters of the sea, and claimed that which, although it was for the

benefit of all, must be admitted to have been more than we had a right to. Your lordships are aware that the slave trade is a perfectly legal traffic, except where treaties exist providing for its suppression, and there is no law whatever that gives us or any one else a right to visit a ship, or seize her, even if full of slaves, provided she is sailing under an independent flag, unless we have a treaty right to that effect with the nation to which that particular flag belongs. As peace endured and nations flourished, those who lost their navies were enabled to reconstruct them, and those who had had none began to create them. Feelings grew up among them with respect to their navies similar to those which we entertained in regard to our own, and naturally they began to dispute a claim which they had never submitted to with any good grace. Such was the case with France. She had a slave-trade treaty with us, and she said, "We are an independent nation, with a navy of our own, and we consider it an insult to be thought unable to fulfil our own engagements, and to maintain the police of the sea as far as our own flag is concerned. We are able to do it, and we do not desire you to meddle with our ships, but to leave them to us to look after." Such, too, was the language of the United States as their naval power and spirit of independence increased. I am not fond of expressing opinions upon the acts of my predecessors in office, but I must say I think they held out too long, considering all the circumstances, for the extreme exercise of the power we claimed, and which international law, strictly interpreted, could not bear us out in demanding. As my noble friend has stated, this practice of visiting all ships (the slave-trade having much increased in consequence of the Russian war) created a great amount of ill blood in the United States, and I felt that the time was come when, instead of carrying it with a high hand, as we had done thirty-one years before, it was better, that great country having a powerful navy, and able if they chose to prevent acts which we justly deprecate, that we should shew our confidence in them, and rely upon their uniting with us to put a stop to the slave-trade. The American Government, in their language, went as far into one extreme as we had formerly done in the other. They at that time declared that no right of search whatever should be allowed. But on the 10th of April, I think it was, General Cass forwarded me a note with respect to what I then stated—an opinion by which I am still prepared to abide—that it was written in a fair and candid spirit, and which I believed contained a just interpretation of international law. He did not in that note deprecate the exercise of the right of search under all circumstances. What he did state was, that, although a nation might, upon particular occasions, be justified in resorting to it, yet that such a course should, in accordance with the principles of international law, be taken at the risk of the officer by whom it was pursued; adding, that if there were sufficient grounds of suspicion to justify the proceeding, he was of opinion no Government would be disposed to find fault with its adoption. Now, being aware of the spirit by which the American Government was animated

upon this subject, what I agreed to do was this:

"That we should establish, in conjunction with that Government, for the sake of maintaining the police of the sea, a code of instructions for the commanders of both countries, which should be identical, and which should guarantee any officer acting within their scope against being open to blame. I was, moreover, of opinion, paying regard to the natural feelings of the people of America upon this question, that it would not be unwise to invite the French Government to join us in pursuing the same course as that which I have just mentioned. I may add, that it seemed to me that any code of instructions which should be agreed on by that Government and our own should be of such a nature as not to give rise to the suspicion upon the part of America that in assenting to it she was surrendering one particle of her national honour. It was, however, more easy to propose such a scheme than to put it into execution. A considerable time therefore has elapsed during which the highest authorities of the French navy, as well as of our own, have been employed in considering this matter; but the result, I am happy to say, has been that the Governments of both countries have agreed upon a code of instructions which are identical, and that that code has been submitted to the American Cabinet, with an invitation to them to join with us in its adoption. Such, my lords, is the course which we have taken. I may appear at first to have surrendered a right—an extreme and exaggerated right—in favour of which so much has been spoken as well as written; yet I thought that the time was come when it was better to place entire confidence in the proper feeling of the American people, than to prolong an agitation which, in point of fact, rendered them indisposed to aid us in our endeavours to put down the slave-trade. The best proof, my lords, that I was not mistaken as to the wisdom of that policy is to be found in the spirit which has since been evinced by the American Government both in its language and its acts. From that Government I have received the strongest assurances that it will use its best efforts to put down the slave-trade with American ships. It has even gone so far as to make "officially," but not "officially," a suggestion, in the expediency of acting upon which I entirely concur. It is that the treaty into which we have entered with the United States, and which binds us, with a view to the suppression of the slave-trade, to have eighty guns on the West Coast of Africa should be so modified, that, instead of our being obliged to have eighty guns in that quarter, and America being enabled to fulfil her part of the stipulation by maintaining there two old sailing frigates of forty guns, which are perfectly useless in the suppression of the slave-trade, she should keep up a certain number of steam-vessels—ten steam gunboats, mounting two guns a-piece—which would constitute a much more effectual force than two sailing frigates, which have hitherto been employed. The Government of the United States has, moreover, intimated, that inasmuch as the slave-trade on the coast of Cuba continues on the increase, it is its intention to send a larger number of vessels to that coast for the purpose of suppressing the traffic. Such has been the spontaneous result

upon the part of the American Government of the action of Her Majesty's Ministers towards it upon this subject. What I have contented myself with doing has been to forward to the Government of America the accounts given by our commanders upon the African coast of the atrocious desecration of the American flag in the prosecution of the slave-trade, and no language, I am happy to say, could be stronger than that which Lord Napier informs me was used by General Cass when he heard those reports, altogether independent of any comment which was made upon them by Her Majesty's Government. And, my lords, while upon this subject, I cannot refrain from expressing my satisfaction at another change which has taken place in reference to the question of the slave-trade. Your lordships are well aware of the complaints which have lately been made in consequence of the adoption of the French scheme of negro emigration to the French colonies, and you cannot have failed to learn with satisfaction that the French Government has within the last fortnight or three weeks abolished that system on the East Coast of Africa, where it had led to greater complications than in any other quarter. You have also been made acquainted, by a paragraph in the Speech from the Throne, that we are carrying on negotiations with the Government of France, at their invitation, with the view of arriving at some agreement by which the entire abolition of that system of Negro Slavery might be accomplished, and through which we may be able, under proper regulations—in fact, under the same regulations which prevail in our own case—to supply France with really free labour from the East Indies. Nothing, I am happy to think, now seems wanting to enable us to bring all nations—each acting for itself, but at the same time acting in unison with others—to the resolution to concur with us in the suppression of the slave-trade, and to abandon a plan from which the well-known horrors of the traffic but too often result. But one thing is wanted to consummate this good end, and that one thing is peace. When the Russian war began, the slave-trade had all but died away. Its complete abolition was checked by that event, but, if we should only be fortunate enough to enjoy for some years to come the blessing of peace, the trade will, I feel assured, be completely extinguished. That blessing we have now every reason to hope awaits us. The speech which was recently spontaneously delivered by the able and powerful ruler of France to the French Chambers, tells us so upon the best authority, inasmuch as he from whose lips it fell is all powerful either for peace or war. We have his assurance that tranquillity will be maintained, and we have no reason to doubt his word, inasmuch as no man has more faithfully or loyally kept those treaties which when he ascended the throne in 1852 he promised to observe. I have, therefore, my lords, the strongest confidence in the continuance of peace; and the existence of that blessing is all, I feel assured, that is required in order to put an end to a traffic odious in itself, and which this country has made so many and such great sacrifices to abolish.

■ (Continued on p. 62.)

## The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

TUESDAY, MARCH 1, 1859.

### THE JAMAICA IMMIGRATION BILL.

UP to the present time the Royal assent has not been given to the Jamaica Immigration Bill, but a reference to our *Parliamentary Record* will leave our readers in no doubt respecting the intentions of the Government. The simple fact is, that Whigs and Tories are alike committed to the principle of "immigration," as it is styled, and therefore it will be permitted, even though sufficient reasons against it be forthcoming. Now, there is a previous question to be settled, namely, whether or not an introduction of foreign labourers is required. The West-India Committee allege the deficiency of Creole labour to be so great, that unless immigration be allowed, estates must go out of cultivation. We unhesitatingly declare it to be our own conviction that no estate has been thrown out of cultivation since emancipation for want of labour, and that the present attempt to obtain foreign labour is founded on utterly false assumptions. But, under any circumstances, and admitting that the supply of labour available in our West-India colonies is an open question, it stands to reason that it should be determined before any sanction is given to schemes of immigration at the public expense. It is denied by the West-India party that it is intended to saddle the community with the cost of importing labour; but when—as in Jamaica—two-thirds of it are met by a tax on exported produce, the cost of immigration falls—to this extent—upon the consumer, who has a right to demand why he should be called upon to pay a rate in aid of the planters, to enable them to cultivate their estates. On the other hand, it is not in accordance with equity, to call upon the labouring classes of any colony to contribute ever so small a proportion of the expense of introducing foreign labourers to compete with themselves in their own labour-market.

Fair competition in it, as in any other direction, is all that we, as friends of the emancipated classes, demand for them. Were Indians and Chinese to repair in tens of thousands to our West-India colonies of their own free will, subjecting themselves to the caprices of the labour-market, according to the law of supply and demand, we should rejoice. But this would be a very different competition from that which is now introduced, and which we deem it to be our duty to condemn.

We do not consider it advisable to dwell, at this time, upon what is being done in this

country to defeat the designs of the West-India Body. We might do more harm than good. One thing is certain: a crisis has arrived when it is necessary for the friends of the negro to bestir themselves. A Committee of Inquiry into the condition of the West-India colonies, especially with regard to the alleged deficiency of labour in them, and the causes thereof, and sufficiently comprehensive to embrace an investigation of the working of the present system of immigration into those sugar colonies which have received immigrants, and into the mode of obtaining them from India and China, will alone meet the exigencies of the case. In a circular which the London West-India Committee have issued, they profess to be in favour of an inquiry, but state that at this present moment, and for some months to come, it would be inconvenient. Mr. C. Buxton has given notice of a motion for the appointment of a Committee of the House, but the Government—secretly influenced by the West-India Committee—are averse to granting one. Under these circumstances, we venture to suggest that our friends throughout the country, and in the West Indies, should petition both Houses of Parliament to grant a Committee of Inquiry, as the only mode of obtaining information upon controverted points.

#### REVOLUTION IN HAYTI.

THE empire in the island of St. Domingo has fallen. Faustin the First has been deposed, and republican institutions are again in the ascendant. For a considerable time past, symptoms of disaffection had manifested themselves, and a change was expected by all classes. Matters came to a crisis on the 22d of December last, when the Revolutionary Committee, having matured their plans, issued several decrees from the Departmental Senate of Gonaïves;—one of them formally deposed Soulouque, on the grounds of his having abused the sovereign power; of having shed much innocent blood; of having perjured the national faith; filled the prisons, without subjecting his victims to trial; appropriated the public revenues, also the funds arising from the sale of mahogany cut in the State-forests, the proceeds of the tax of one-fifth of the coffee-crop, and recently issued bank-notes for his own profit; and of having organized an armed pillage of the coast by the navy, with other misdeeds, compromising the honour of the Haytians. A second decree abolished the penalty of the dungeon; a third declared liberty for all prisoners confined for political offences; a fourth remitted the sentence of banishment on political criminals now abroad; a fifth augmented the pay of the soldiery; a sixth restored the constitution of 1846, with General Fabre Geffrard as President of Hayti; a

seventh opened to foreigners the ports of Port-de-Pain, Saint Mure, Miragoûne, and Aquin; an eighth re-established the national guard; and a ninth rendered it removable on island service. Other decrees, for the re-organization of the public service, on the republican basis, were also issued, and Citizen André Jean-Simon (formerly Haytian Ambassador to England) was appointed Minister for Foreign Affairs. General Geffrard placed himself at the head of the revolutionary army, and on the 5th of January it came into collision with the Imperial troops near St. Mure. The Imperialists at once gave way. Several similar rencontres took place up to the 10th, when Soulouque and his few remaining troops returned, defeated and dispirited, to Port-au-Prince. The Emperor now issued a proclamation, appealing to the people to assist him in suppressing the rebellion; but the revolutionary spirit gained ground as the republican army advanced upon the capital, and the population remained impassible. On the 12th, the republican envoys presented themselves with despatches for the permanent Committee of the Senate. The Emperor made an attempt to have them arrested, but failed. From this moment the republicans gained strength; and as the people seemed resolved not to take any active part in the business, on the 15th the Emperor finally abdicated, professing to the last his good wishes for the happiness of Hayti. Within an hour after this solemn act, *General Soulouque*, with his family and baggage, repaired to the French Consulate, and at four o'clock in the afternoon was conveyed on board the British frigate *Melbourne*, his destination being Jamaica.

From such sources of information as are accessible to us, we gather that the revolution is regarded with favour by the most enlightened Haytians. Soulouque—like a certain monarch nearer to our shores—had violated his oaths of fidelity to republicanism, and circumstances favouring his design, had forcibly possessed himself of despotic power. His rule was submitted to, because a change was not practicable, but that one was imminent had long been foreseen. There appears to be some truth in the charge which the republicans have brought against him, and it is highly creditable to their leaders that the late ruler of the country has been permitted to quit it unmolested, and with sufficient means to assure him an independent subsistence in any other. It is to be hoped, as there does not now exist any political antagonism between the eastern and the western parts of the island, on the score of a difference of institutions, that both may become united under one head. A house divided against itself cannot stand, and a division of the

government of the island of St. Domingo is fatal to its prosperity and to its advancement, besides furnishing a pretext for the continual interference of Foreign Powers, and especially for American intrigues. The last mails bring intelligence of bloodshed in some quarters, but, upon the whole, the change has been effected without any serious loss of life.

### THE NEW PRESIDENT OF HAYTI.

GENERAL Geffrard, the leader of the revolution which has just taken place in Hayti, is a man of about fifty years of age. He is the son of one of the heroes who fought for the independence of the island. His father was, with Petion and Christophe, one of the illustrious lieutenants of Dessalines, when he took up arms against the French. He distinguished himself in the war of independence, had command over all the southern part of the island, and proved himself not only a good soldier, but a generous antagonist, for he saved the lives of many French families at Aux Cayes. Fabre Geffrard, his son, and the actual President of Hayti, is a well-educated man, and a sincere friend of liberty, progress, and civilization. In 1843, finding that Boyer's government did not sufficiently improve the country, he joined in the revolution of Rivière, and afterwards, when Rivière, on account of his bad administration, was obliged to resign, and to leave the country with his partisans, Geffrard was the only one amongst the revolutionists who, through his moderation and his well-known patriotism, remained beloved and respected by his countrymen. He commanded for a long time the Province of Jacmel, and there displayed great capacity as an able administrator. Under Soulouque's government, he was the chief of the *état-major général*, and in the two campaigns against the Dominicans acquitted himself like a brave general. In the first, in 1849, he was wounded at the head of his division. The manner in which he has conducted the present revolution, and his generosity in saving the life of the ex-Emperor and his family, do him credit. He has selected his Ministers from amongst the ablest men of the country; one of them, André Jean-Simon, was, three years ago, the Minister Plenipotentiary of Hayti at our court, and is well known for his capability. We must hope that under such an administration Hayti will progress.

### PARLIAMENTARY RECORD.

(Continued from p. 60.)

The EARL of CLARENDON.—I am glad my noble friend has been afforded the opportunity of explaining to the House the course which he has taken in reference to this important subject, and also of setting right public opinion with respect to certain concessions which he is supposed to have made. The community at large have no

means of acquiring information upon such transactions except through the medium of the press, or the papers which have been laid before Congress. I should not have troubled your lordships upon this occasion were it not for what has fallen from my noble friend with respect to the course which he says was pursued by his predecessors in office. It would appear that the noble earl considers we claimed a right of search, which could be exercised only by belligerents: and to exercise which, in time of peace, would be contrary to international law. We, however, never claimed or exercised any such right. The state of the law, as well as our practice towards other countries, was laid down with the utmost distinctness by my noble friend above me (the Earl of Aberdeen), in language which commanded the assent of the Minister, who, at the same time, filled the office of Secretary for Foreign Affairs in the United States. It was then provided that we should have the means of ascertaining the nationality of a ship, and of learning whether she was in reality entitled to carry the colours which she bore. It was understood that this course should always be pursued with great caution and discretion, and on the responsibility of the officers in command; and it was provided, at the same time, that no vessel entitled to fly the American colours should be meddled with, nor should the British officers meddle with such a vessel, even though it absolutely had a cargo of slaves on board. Now, no doubt, on the coast of Cuba acts may have been committed by our officers which can hardly be justified, though we do not even know the truth of that. It is perfectly true that mail after mail brought over a catalogue of British outrages, some of which were manifest exaggerations, and of course such instances demand strict inquiry. In due time, I suppose, we shall receive reports of that inquiry; but I believe that, except perhaps on the coast of Cuba, this search has been exercised with great care and discretion by our officers, and, so far from the American Government having cause for displeasure, I think they should be obliged to us for having rescued their flag when borne under such illegal and disreputable circumstances. I believe, at all events, that the Parliament and the Ministry of this country would be much obliged to any other Power which rescued the English flag from similar disgrace. But, in reality, the right of search, so understood, did work well. It was always confined to the African coast; it very rarely interfered with the legitimate course of commerce; and the result to both Governments appeared perfectly satisfactory. If, however, as the result of my noble friend's altered arrangements, there is to be no inquiry of this sort as to the nationality of a vessel, and if that nationality is to be assumed from the colours which she chooses to fly, why there is an end of all precautionary measures.

The EARL of MALMESBURY.—I may not have made myself thoroughly understood, and perhaps your lordships will allow me to explain. If the course just suggested by the noble earl were pursued, what would be the use of the identical instructions? Those instructions are intended to give our cruisers the right of challenging only, so as to put an end to the anomalies which arose

in the practice of different commanders, and to prevent the disputes which have hitherto taken place between the two countries. I do not give up the right, which, on the contrary, is a well-established right; but, at the same time, we have thought it desirable to fix the responsibility upon the officers exercising it.

The EARL of CLARENDON—Not having seen the instructions, I cannot give an opinion respecting them; but I do not clearly understand even now how these identical instructions will enable a British officer to institute inquiry as to the nationality of an American vessel. At all events, we have the same sets of rules and regulations for all nations. We cannot have one code for a powerful, and another for a weak nation. We must exercise the same forbearance, the same abstinence from inquiry, in respect to every flag, so that the flag of Monaco must be allowed by British cruisers to pass as unnoticed as that of America. But, I believe, the American Government are quite as desirous as our own honestly to put down the slave-trade, and are just as unwilling as ourselves that the national flag should be prostituted by shielding this abominable traffic. I can only hope that the new regulations adopted and these identical instructions will be successful; but, to be successful, they must be adopted by other Powers than by France and England, for otherwise they might be easily eluded by adopting the flag of the country which has not subscribed to them, and they would thus become wholly inoperative.

The EARL of ABERDEEN.—It should be remembered that the right of search is by no means inseparably mixed up with the slave-trade, and is only connected with it incidentally. Considering it as an abstract right, the noble earl opposite (the Earl of Malmesbury) talked of our exercising this claim with a high hand. Now, I will read to your lordships how this "high hand" was exercised twenty years ago—exercised in a way which perfectly satisfied the American Government, and which has worked perfectly well ever since, without unduly interfering with the course of trade. In a despatch, dated October 1841, to Mr. Stenvenson, I adopted these terms—

"The undersigned renounces all pretensions on the part of the British Government to visit and search American vessels in time of peace. Nor is it as American that such vessels are ever visited; but it has been the invariable practice of the British navy, and, as the undersigned believes, of all navies in the world, to ascertain by visit the real nationality of merchant-vessels met with on the high seas, if there be good reason to apprehend their illegal character."

To carry out this system, a code of instructions was framed with the utmost care, and has ever since remained in force; and if the new regulations spoken of by the noble earl prove as effectual as they were, he will do more than I expect, for I believe no code of instructions on this subject could be clearer or more advantageous to commerce than that drawn up about 1841 by Dr. Lushington and others. But it now appears that the American Minister has been congratulating his country on some concession made by

the noble earl; and the President, in his Annual Message, has also referred to this concession, as though it were something quite new. Now, I venture to say, that twenty years ago everything which it was possible for the Americans to demand, or for us to grant, had been granted. I will just read, however, a qualification which was then laid down, and which it may be useful to remember—

"The President may be assured that Great Britain will always respect the just claims of the United States. We make no pretensions to interfere in any manner whatever, either by detention, visit, or search, with vessels of the United States, known or believed to be such. But we still maintain, and will exercise when necessary, our right to ascertain the genuineness of any flag which a suspected vessel may bear. If, in the exercise of this right, either from involuntary error, or in spite of every precaution, loss or injury should be sustained, a prompt reparation will be afforded; but that we should entertain for a single instant the notion of abandoning the right itself would be quite impossible."

I maintain still that it is quite impossible to abandon the right thus laid down. If the noble earl reserves that right, he does all that I ever pretended to do; if he gives up more than that, the result, I cannot but think, will be, that it will become impossible to maintain the police of the seas.

The EARL of CARLISLE—I hope that the principle so forcibly proclaimed in the extract just read by my noble friend will not be departed from in the policy of this country, unless we are assured of very palpable advantages from the adoption of some other scheme. I believe I am correct in stating that the principle just enunciated is the identical one always acted upon until the accession of the present Government. The adoption of the new code referred to by the noble earl, and to which I heartily wish all possible success, will, I trust, be determined on at the earliest possible moment; for until something is resolved upon respecting it, the high seas will be left with absolutely no protection whatever.

The EARL of DERBY—There seems to me to be only an imaginary difference between the views expressed on both sides of the House. Nobody contends that this country, or any other, has a right to board and to visit the ships of another nation. On the other hand, nobody denies that this country, or any other, has a right, upon well-founded suspicion, to ascertain the nationality of a vessel carrying a particular flag. The question is, however, in what manner is that right to be exercised, and what proceedings are to be taken in pursuance of it? Now, as long as there is no definition as to the course to be taken in such cases, you are always liable for the errors or indiscretion of the particular officer engaged, and, although he may have ascertained that there were plausible grounds for suspecting the flag, it is quite clear he has committed an infraction of international law, should that suspicion turn out to be ill-founded. Nevertheless, it is admitted that, under such circumstances, where there exists reasonable ground of suspicion, and proceedings are taken accordingly, that is an infraction of the law for which no country would de-

mand redress. But the object of my noble friend—and I hope he will succeed in effecting it—is to come to a distinct understanding between the French and the American Governments and the Government of this country, for the purpose of avoiding any cause of difference for the future arising out of a visit paid by the commander of a cruiser in order to ascertain and to verify the nationality of a vessel. That was the sole object my noble friend had in view; but he has neither abandoned any right which this country could claim, nor has he asserted any right to which we were not previously entitled.

LORD BROUGHAM had heard with very great satisfaction the statement of his noble friend the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, that negotiations were in progress between the Governments of France and of this country which there was reason to hope would have the effect of extinguishing that slave-trade which has been partly repressed on the Western Coast of Africa. He had heard with gratification that a code had been submitted to the French Government which was likely to lead to a satisfactory solution of the difficulties which had arisen with respect to the right of inquiry, or the right of visit, whichever it might be called, and that, in all probability, the question would be placed on a satisfactory footing by an agreement between the three Powers. He quite agreed with his noble friend below him, who was formerly at the head of the Foreign Department, that the question with regard to search was not of necessity connected with the slave-trade. It was a question which applied to common piracy, as well as to that which he (Lord Brougham) certainly thought as bad as any piracy—the slave-trade. He asked their lordships what would be the consequence, if the principle occasionally contended for on the part of France and the United States were laid down, that no cruiser had a right to stop a vessel upon the high seas for the purpose of ascertaining that the flag hoisted by such vessels was one which it was entitled to use? He must say that he thought the absurdities and inconsistencies to which so extravagant a doctrine would lead had been rather understated by his noble friend behind him. Supposing a vessel—say a common pirate—hoisted a national flag, according to the doctrine contended for, no cruiser, except a cruiser of the country whose flag she hoisted, had a right to stop her and institute an inquiry. The consequence would be, that such a ship would take care to hoist the flag of a country which had no cruiser at all, and she would, therefore, be certain of escape. His noble friend had put the case of Monaco; and many similar instances might be mentioned. For example: San Marino, with its 1500 inhabitants, although having a flag, might have no cruiser; and, consequently, the San Marino flag might be used with absolute and inevitable impunity, not only by slave-traders, but to cover any nefarious transactions. The difficulty was undoubtedly to make a distinction between visitation, which included the right of boarding and searching, and mere inquiry in order to ascertain the nationality of a vessel: but he did not think such inquiry could be instituted without the risk of great inconvenience, and of possible collision between different countries; for

much would depend upon the temper, prudence, and sagacity of the officers—possibly very young men—who were intrusted with the duty of ascertaining that vessels were entitled to hoist the flags under which they were sailing. He believed the only way of preventing such collisions would be by adopting some code, or set of instructions, which might be agreed to by the United States and other countries. It must be remembered, that by the law of nations, which it was now the fashion to call “international law,” there was no distinction between one country and another; and the little States of Monaco and San Marino, had just the same right to appeal to the law of nations, and to demand the scrupulous observance of its provisions, as France, England, or any other Power. He had heard with great gratification the statement of his noble friend opposite, that he entertained no doubt, from the aspect of affairs on both sides the channel, that peace was likely to be maintained. He (Lord Brougham) earnestly hoped, and devoutly prayed, that his noble friend might be right in that expectation, and that his hopes were not too sanguine. Knowing, as he (Lord Brougham) did, the strong, the unanimous, and the heartfelt opinion and feeling of all men on the other side the channel, as on this, against any breach of the peace, and after a long and uninterrupted continuance of that invaluable blessing, he would have been better satisfied, and have felt the more sanguine in his hopes, if there were in other countries, as there was in this, a constant legitimate, and regular expression of public opinion and of public feeling, derived from the inestimable privilege of a Parliament.

The subject then dropped.

(Tuesday Feb. 15.)

#### THE CUBAN SLAVE-TRADE.

LORD BROUGHAM not having seen his right rev. friend (the Bishop of Oxford) present at a quarter past five o'clock, the hour for commencing public business, and therefore presuming he was not able to attend this day, he had postponed the presentation of the petition which had been entrusted to him from certain parties in Jamaica respecting the Cuba slave-trade, until Thursday next; but, as his right rev. friend was now present, and as he had stated to him that he could not be in his place on Thursday next, he was in the hands of the House as to whether he should now present the petition he had referred to, or postpone it to a future day. The noble and learned lord accordingly proceeded, and in the outset caused to be read at the table the address of their lordships in 1835 to the Crown, for such measures as might obtain from Foreign Powers, especially Spain and Portugal, the suppression of the slave-trade. So far as Portugal and Brazil were concerned, the slave-traffic had been entirely relinquished; but, while this country might have been, in part, the cause of such a consummation being brought to pass, it would be most unjust to withhold from the Brazilian and Portuguese Governments the praise of having cordially responded to the sentiments of this country on the subject, and completely putting a stop to the slave-trade connected with them. Nay, more, as he had formerly shewn their lordships, in Bra-

zil, people of colour were now admitted to offices of public trust and to their place in social intercourse—a privilege which he deeply regretted to say was withheld from them in the United States of America. But the Spanish slave-trade still remained, notwithstanding all the attempts that had been made to put it down. This petition, which he had now the honour of laying on their lordships' table, more particularly complained of that trade. It was very similar to a petition which he presented to their lordships' House towards the close of last session of Parliament, and to one which was presented by the right reverend prelate to whom he had already alluded, since the commencement of the present session, and whose eloquent speech on presenting it must still be in their lordships' recollections. The present petition was the result of a public meeting held at Kingston, Jamaica, the capital of the island, and which meeting was chiefly attended by free labourers, rendered free by that act of wisdom and justice which this country passed some years ago. It gave him great satisfaction to be informed that the meeting was attended by a very large number, chiefly emancipated slaves, and the petition he now held in his hand was signed by upwards of 800 of these parties, most of them people of colour. There were only two or three of the signatures to the petition indicated by a mark, but there were very nearly 800 signing their own names legibly and correctly. That most distinctly shewed how great an improvement had taken place amongst the people, and how great had been the benefit which emancipation had conferred upon them. He was aware that he himself, and those who acted with him in this question, had been held up by some of the West Indian body as their adversaries. But never had charge less foundation. If he was disposed to prove its groundlessness, he could not do so more effectively than by referring to his noble friend behind him (Earl Grey), who, when Colonial Secretary, proposed, or rather the Government of which the noble lord was a member proposed, the admission, on equal terms, of free and slave-grown sugar. He (Lord Brougham) and those who acted with him then held that free-labour sugar should be protected from competition of slave-grown sugar. He might have been wrong in that opinion, but if he erred he erred in good company, for Lord Ashburton, Lord Denman, and the Duke of Wellington were of the same opinion. That illustrious man, whose name he had last mentioned, whose loss was hourly deplored as irreparable, whatever was the subject of our deliberations, peace or war, foreign or domestic affairs,—that great captain and statesman agreed entirely with the right rev. prelate and himself (Lord Brougham) in maintaining that the produce of free-labour ought to be protected from competition with slave-grown sugar, and this for which his right rev. friend and himself had struggled was a benefit to the West-India interest incalculably more precious than any that could be derived from the schemes of immigration. These schemes for obtaining free labour were no compensation whatever for the evil done, by adopting the course Government then did, and doing away with that protection. That, therefore, was one of the grounds of complaint of these petitioners—

namely, that the produce of their free-labour was placed in competition with slave-labour produce without any protection from the effects of such competition. But they stated, as another ground of complaint, and as most disastrous to their interests, the operations of the Cuba slave-trade, and, grateful for the emancipation which this country had conferred upon them, they besought their lordships to consider how much the colonies suffered from that trade, and to endeavour by all possible means to put an end to it. As an incentive to do so, they appealed not only to humanity and justice, but to the faith of treaties, which treaties, so far as Spain was concerned, had been scandalously broken. The first treaty for the suppression of this traffic was entered into with the Spanish Government in 1822, but that treaty was never acted on. In 1835 negotiations were again opened, and a second treaty, more general than the first, but more obligatory on the Spanish Government to abandon the slave-trade entered into. Ten years elapsed, and in 1845 the Spanish Government began to act a little by punishing those found engaged in slave traffic, although not in terms of the treaty treating it as piracy. With few exceptions, however, the laws even in that respect had never been honestly enforced. And it altogether depended upon whom the Spanish Government sent as governor to Cuba, whether it was enforced at all or not. When Valdez was governor of Cuba he certainly did something considerable in checking the traffic. He issued an order that if within six months the traffic was not entirely abolished, the treaty would be executed in its full force, and the penalties of the law inflicted. Now while he did not altogether concur in the wisdom of the proclamation, inasmuch as no doubt during that six months' grace, the slave-trade was carried to a greater extent than ever it had been, yet at the expiration of the term vigorous measures were taken, and the result was that of fifty-three slavers which yearly had left the island for Africa, the year after those vigorous measures were taken, only three left, while the number of negroes brought over as slaves was reduced from 14,000 or 15,000 a year, to some 2000 or 3000. There was no doubt, therefore, that had Valdez continued governor, the Cuba slave-trade would have entirely ceased. But he was soon removed, and while, he believed, another governor had since endeavoured to emulate his actions, he had also been removed, and other governors had been sent there who it was well known to the Spanish Government would not so act. It was, he must say, a painful thing to have to state, but he stated it on the authority of documents on their lordships' table, that the Spanish Government have been in the habit of sending to Cuba as governors, persons in ruined circumstances, favourites of the court, in order that they might repair their fortunes by the gains of the slave-trade, in other words, by bribes from the slave-holders. He had heard it stated, on good authority, that one of the governors who had been sent there for this purpose, in the course of four or five years, realised a fortune of from 90,000*l.* to 100,000*l.* He heard also that, in this matter the Spanish Government had been guilty of gross fraud, for it had been proved most satisfactorily that the number of negroes imported into

Cuba had been falsified in the returns the Spanish Government had made of them. It was not, he would observe, the planters of Cuba who were keeping up this traffic; they had every motive of interest to desire the abolition of the traffic which was only a benefit to those who imported slaves for the purpose of clearing new lands, the produce of which most injuriously affected that of the old plantations. Again, the grossest fraud was committed in respect of slaves captured, as illegally imported, for according to the law of 1845, slaves taken thus, or those who were made slaves illegally, were seized on landing by the custom-house authorities of Cuba; but, instead of being at once liberated, they had by that law to undergo an indentureship in the island for a period of five years, after which they were to be at liberty. This was what was called a negro apprenticeship, and of such apprenticeships we had no right to complain, as our own emancipation was made by changing Slavery into apprenticeship; and he rejoiced to reflect that he had been instrumental in shortening the period of that bondage from 1840 to 1838, when it ceased, and entire liberty was bestowed from the 1st of August, the anniversary of the Brunswick accession to the throne of these realms. But the Spanish apprenticeship was never to have an end, for the practice of the Spanish Government, was to fill up the vacancies caused by death on the plantations, in the course of the five years, by those who survived, so that when one five years' apprenticeship had expired another commenced, and the negro never got free, so that the law of 1845 was set at utter defiance. How were we then to make Spain keep faith, and perform the obligations of treaty by which she had not only been bound, but had largely profited in the actual receipt of money, nearly half a million? He did not recommend the calling to her recollection the other and larger debt which she owed us, for having saved her from the domination of France. It was oftentimes said that they who conferred benefits should have short memories, and they who received them, long memories: nor could any thing be more intolerable than the man who had served you, flinging his kindness in your face. In some sort, by no means altogether, the same rule applied to the conduct of states; but there was another reason for our not reminding Spain of her obligations: she would probably deny them, as it was her practice to pretend she had worked out her own deliverance without our aid. This was the hallucination of the Spaniards; and they might as well forget the event of which this day, the 15th of February, was the anniversary, and pretend that they had not, with their French allies, or rather masters, been defeated in the great fight off St. Vincent, as pretend that they owed their independence of France to any other source than the arms and the councils of England in the Peninsular war. However, he would have the appeal made to gratitude of another description—that which Sir R. Walpole had defined as a lively sense of favours to come—let Spain be made to feel a living sense of prudence in coming events—let her be told that if the slave-trade of Cuba is not suppressed, the slave grown sugar of Cuba will not be admitted in competition with the free grown sugar of our own colonies. He conceived that a warning of that sort would

not be without its weight with the Spanish people, and he hoped that ere long some such course would be adopted. As to the question of the immigration of labourers into the colonies, he hoped steps would speedily be taken to place it on a proper footing. There were some who maintained that there was no want whatever of free labourers in the colonies, while others said that there was a great deficiency of labour. Some persons of high authority, governors included, denied the want of labour. The matter is in controversy. But how this deficiency was to be supplied was another question equally demanding consideration. He might think that the means adopted at present for the purposes of this immigration were not sufficiently guarded, and that it would lead to the revival of "the slave trade;" but all these matters were proper subjects for inquiry, for so far as information they were at present possessed of went, there certainly were not sufficient data to form a decided opinion upon them. He thought, therefore, it might be expedient to have a committee to inquire into the whole matter. Whether such a committee should be appointed by their lordships or not, he had no doubt but that one having a similar object in view, would be appointed by the other House of Parliament, and he thought their lordships should take the initiative, and do the best to get this most important question placed on a proper footing, it being quite manifest that such an inquiry could be conducted more advantageously to the cause of truth in this than in the other House of Parliament, in consequence of their lordships' better mode of procedure.

The petition was ordered to lie on the table.

The House then adjourned at a quarter past six o'clock.

#### COMPENSATED EMANCIPATION FOR AMERICAN SLAVEHOLDERS.

WE have received, from time to time, so many inquiries respecting the precise nature of Mr. Elihu Burritt's proposal for abolishing Slavery in the United States, by a scheme of compensation to the slaveowners, that we are pleased to have the opportunity of allowing him to submit his own proposition, as conveyed in two recent numbers of the *Bond of Brotherhood*. In so doing, we refrain from committing ourselves to any very decided opinion of its feasibility. At the same time, remembering that England set the questionable example of "compensated emancipation," and that an indemnity—as it is called—to slaveholders, constituted the basis of the French scheme of emancipation, as it does the one now under the consideration of the Dutch Government, we cannot but believe that, sooner or later, the same principle will be adopted in America. The mode of carrying it out is an entirely different question, which will doubtless give rise to great diversity of opinion. Meanwhile we believe that the discussion of any reasonable measure for the removal of Slavery must tend

to lessen the difficulties which surround the question, by directing attention to their nature, and stimulating public opinion to devise means of overcoming them. Mr. Burritt's views do not meet with the sympathy of "the abolitionists;" that is, of the section which unfurls the Garrisonian standard; but Mr. Burritt's object is rather to address the masses north and south, than to acquire a prestige with any party. It is encouraging to learn that he has succeeded in obtaining a respectful hearing in places where a professed abolitionist would not be listened to; and that many decided partisans of Slavery as a political institution appear to have given in their adhesion to his views. So true is it that "a little leaven leaveneth a whole lump."

#### COMPENSATED EMANCIPATION.

"Doubtless, thousands of good and true men in the North, as well as a majority of the Southern people, have come to regard emancipation in the West Indies as a partial or utter failure, so far as relates to the habits and condition of the coloured people on those islands. Having arrived at this conclusion, they easily and naturally adopt the idea, that the same failure would attend the manumission of the slaves of the United States. We fully believe that both the premise and conclusion in this case are incorrect and mistaken. In the first place, no true friend of freedom and justice should admit or regard emancipation in the West Indies as a failure; but if it were proved to be a failure, that would not be an evidence that the same or a similar result would attend the experiment in the United States. We cannot here bring forward the facts connected with the condition of the West Indies, prior and subsequent to emancipation. Two or three may be succinctly stated. For at least a century previous to this event, the proprietors of the cotton and sugar plantations on those islands were the worst kind of absentees. They mostly resided in England, squandering at fashionable watering-places all they could drain from estates they seldom, if ever, visited, and which were managed by a posse of attorneys, clerks, and overseers, who, in their turn, put them through the process of a second draining to fill their pockets. A far better system of absenteeism and proxy managing than this almost ruined Ireland, involving a great portion of its lands in such heavy indebtedness, that Government had at last to cut the meshes of incumbrance, and force the mortgaged estates into liquidation and sale. For many years prior to emancipation, the crops of most of the West-Indian plantations were mortgaged, at seed-time, to capitalists or merchants in England, for advances made at Jewish rates of interest. In the hands of these sharpers, cotton and sugar were sold like forfeited goods in the pawnbroker's shop. If there had never been a slave in the West Indies, this system would have inevitably terminated in a smashing break-down. And that break-down came. Even emancipation could not prevent it, nor could it expedite the issue.

"Now, would emancipation in the United States find the planters of the South in this con-

dition? Have they pursued a system of absenteeism like that described? Have they for years been rolling and lolling in indolence and dissipation at watering-places, three thousand miles distant from their estates? Have they been in the habit of pawning their crops, ere sown, in the shaving shops of English cotton-brokers or capitalists for advances at ruinous rates, perhaps to be spent at the dice-box or card-table? Have they thus meshed their estates with mortgages beyond extrication? No; far from it. Every candid mind must admit there is hardly any economical analogy between the planters of the West Indies and those of the Southern States, considering their condition prior to emancipation. There would, doubtless, be far less parity of condition after the act of manumission; even if we assume that the compensation per slave were exactly equal in the two cases. The British Government paid 100,000,000 dollars for the liberation of about 800,000 bond men, women, and children, or about 125 dollars per head. The United-States' Government pays 875,000,000 dollars for the manumission of 3,500,000. Every dollar of this vast sum would go directly to the Southern States, adding so much virtually to their wealth; constituting so much money capital in the hands of the planters, wherewith to commence the economy of free-labour production; wherewith to recover their estates to more than original fertility, and to hire free sinews for their cultivation. Compare this condition with that of the West Indies. Nearly every pound sterling of the compensation allowed by the British Government was retained in England, in the hands of the absentee proprietors, their creditors, and parliamentary agents. Hardly a dollar of the amount granted ever found its way to the plantations thus brought to death's door beyond the sea. Is there not a difference here, upon which a different result of emancipation may be predicted in favour of our Southern States? But there is another difference in their favour of vast importance. In the plan already developed and presented to the public, it is proposed that the American planters shall receive 250 dollars instead of 125 dollars, for the emancipation of their slaves. Now, would it not be a preposterous apprehension on their part to fear a West-India break-down as the result of emancipation, with this enormous sum in their hands?

"Since the rapid and wonderful settlement of California, and the still more remarkable movements of the population of Eastern Asia, the Chinese have formed no inconsiderable stream of that broad river of emigration which is now pouring nearly half a million of human beings yearly upon the Atlantic and Pacific shores of this continent. Considering the vast population of China, and the sudden opening of the great empire; the condition of the people; their struggle for sustenance, and the miserly pittance of food on which they subsist, and the facility with which they might be imported into the United States, the question has been naturally suggested, whether or not these Asiatic myriads might not be profitably substituted for the African race in the Southern States. This question has been seriously discussed. The central fact of the proposition is this: that the Chinese are to be substituted for the Africans, at least in a far higher condition

of freedom than it is thought safe to concede to the latter. Doubtless, all the Southern planters, who have considered this suggestion, have concluded that these Chinese labourers must not be literally bought, and sold, and flogged as slaves; that they must be paid after a certain rate for their toil; that they must be allowed a considerable scope and verge of liberty. Now, then, *cui bono*? What earthly advantage could accrue to the Southern States from the change of races on their soil? Draft a thousand of common field-hands from any dozen plantations, and set them front to front with the same number of these Asiatic pagans, and see which would shew the greatest aptitude and fitness for the culture of cotton, corn, or sugar. In what one quality of disposition, or of physical constitution, would the Chinese be preferable? Could they perform more work per day? Would they be more tractable or faithful in-doors or out-doors? Would the moral atmosphere of their life and habits be more congenial and agreeable? Could they be taken safely into more intimate personal relations and intercourse with the planters and their families, as trusty and affectionate servants? In complexion, features, and form, in voice and language, would they be less exposed to prejudice, and more easily amalgamated with the native white population, and more speedily Americanized and Christianized? These are a few of the questions involved in the proposition of changing races, in order to improve the labour of the Southern States. We believe the anticipation of any benefit from such a change is a complete and utter fallacy. If the Southern planters and farmers had the range of all the races and populations of the globe, they would not find one more suited to their sun and soil than the three millions of African blood who now cultivate their fields, and serve them in every capacity of industry. The raw material of their labour is the best the world can furnish them. It is the natural, native, acclimated labour of the South, fitted to bear the heat and burthen of the Southern sun and agriculture; to live and thrive where white men would droop and die. Search the earth over, and you will not find for the South labour more docile, or labourers, male and female, more capable of endurance, or more susceptible of warm and faithful attachment to their employers. Then, why change them for an equal number of copper-coloured pagans from China?

"Taking the number of slaves in 1850, according to the census, the Southern States would receive the following sums, allowing them 250 dollars per head for the emancipation of their slave population:—

States.	No. of Slaves.	Compensa. Dollars.
Virginia .....	472,528	118,132,000
South Carolina .....	384,984	96,246,000
Georgia .....	381,682	95,420,500
Alabama .....	342,892	85,723,000
Mississippi .....	309,878	77,470,500
North Carolina .....	288,548	72,137,000
Louisiana .....	244,809	61,202,250
Tennessee .....	239,460	59,865,000
Kentucky .....	210,981	52,745,250
Maryland .....	90,368	22,592,000
Missouri .....	87,422	21,855,500
Texas .....	58,161	14,540,250
Arkansas .....	47,100	11,775,000
Florida .....	39,309	9,827,250
Dist. Columbia .....	3,667	921,750
Delaware .....	2,290	572,500

"The amounts thus received by the several Southern States would not represent all the pecuniary compensation which they would realize from emancipation. The extinction of Slavery would open the flood-gates of free-labour and its fertilizing and ingenious industry. Vast numbers of intelligent and vigorous men from the North, and from Europe, would pour into Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri, and other Southern States, and create a great demand and value for their lands. Those in Missouri, for instance, would advance to the price at which the same quality is now sold in Iowa. Real estate in Kentucky would rise to the Ohio standard. Land in Virginia would sell for as much as that of the same capacity of production in Pennsylvania. It would be a moderate estimate to assume that emancipation, as soon as declared, would double the value of all the lands in the Southern States. This, in most cases, would constitute a larger pecuniary consideration than the several amounts of money received for the manumission of their slaves, as will be seen from the following figures, taking the valuation of their farms as given by the census of 1850.

States.	Addit. value of Farms. Dollars.	Money Compens. each slave. Dollars.	Total for each slave. Dollars.
Virginia .....	216,401,543	118,132,000	708
South Carolina ....	82,431,684	96,246,000	464
Georgia .....	95,753,445	95,420,500	500
Alabama .....	64,323,224	85,723,000	437
Mississippi .....	54,738,634	77,470,500	391
North Carolina ....	47,891,766	72,137,000	485
Louisiana .....	75,814,398	61,202,250	560
Tennessee .....	97,851,212	59,865,000	657
Kentucky .....	155,021,722	52,745,250	984
Maryland .....	87,178,545	22,592,000	1214
Missouri .....	63,225,543	21,855,500	982
Texas .....	16,550,008	14,540,250	534
Arkansas .....	15,265,245	11,775,000	574
Florida .....	6,323,109	9,827,250	400
Dist. Columbia ....	1,730,460	921,750	710
Delaware .....	18,880,031	572,500	850

"Those States whose lands would be the most speedily and largely increased in value by the act of emancipation are, Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Missouri, because their climate and soil are the best adapted to free white labour. If Slavery were abolished within their borders, the streams of emigration from the Eastern States and from Europe would pour in upon them, occupying and fertilizing their waste or exhausted lands, and diffusing the genius and vigour of agricultural and mechanical skill and industry throughout the community. All their silent or idle rivers and streams would be set to the music of machinery; and manufactories for working into full value the products of their fields, mines, and forests, would line their valleys, each surrounded by a white and thrifty village. The Atlantic ports of the South would be whitened by the sails of all nations, and ships laden with emigrants from England, France, and Germany, would disembark their freights of human industry on their wharves. One day's journey by railroad from Norfolk, Wilmington, Charleston, Savannah, or Mobile, would take the European farmer to the place of his destination. With all the attractions which those States would possess, if freed from Slavery, it must seem a moderate estimate to every candid mind, to assume that their lands would be merely doubled in value by the act of emancipation. Admitting this

small ratio of enhancement, we have two positive pecuniary considerations operating upon every Slave State in favour of emancipation. For example, the act, by doubling the value of the farming lands of Virginia, would add over 216,000,000 dollars to the wealth of that State. Then she would receive 118,000,000 dollars in money from the National Treasury, as compensation for manumitting her slaves. Putting this and that together, she would realize 335,000,000 dollars at once from emancipation on the terms proposed. This would be equal to 700 dollars per head for the slaves, taking young and old, sick and disabled, which must be at least twice their average value. Take the case of Missouri, with its vast expanse of uncultivated and low-priced lands, all adapted to free white labour. In the census of 1850, the value of her farms is set down at 63,325,543 dollars, although her territory contains 41,623,680 acres, thus averaging only about 1.50 dollars per acre for the whole area of the State. Every intelligent Missourian must see that this is an exceedingly meagre value for a vast landed estate, containing as many arable acres to the square mile as any State in the Union. It must be difficult for him to account for this fact, except from the existence of Slavery. To say that the honourable and equitable extinction of this system would double, treble, or quadruple the worth of the lands in Missouri, must be a moderate estimate of their enhancement in his view. But, assuming that the act would only *double* the present value of those lands, there would be over 63,000,000 dollars added at once to the wealth of Missouri, from this source of increased prosperity. Then she would receive from the National Treasury about 22,000,000 dollars for the emancipation of her slaves; making an aggregate consideration of 85,000,000 dollars for manumitting 87,000 slaves, or nearly 1000 dollars per head. But every well-informed and candid Missourian, who fully understands the natural resources of his State, its peculiar location and relationship, must surely admit that emancipation would *quadruple*, in five years, the present value of its lands, thus increasing its wealth by 200,000,000 dollars. This amount, even without any compensation from the National Treasury, would be equal to 2000 dollars per head for every emancipated slave."

#### FACT STRONGER THAN FICTION.

A CONSIDERABLE number of our readers may probably not have had the opportunity of reading the following affecting "o'er true tale" of actual slave-life published a few weeks ago in the *New-York Tribune*.\* It requires no comment, but may be left to produce its own effect. Could inanimate objects speak, this fearful revelation of plantation-life would probably find many a parallel.

#### A TRUE STORY OF THE UNDERGROUND RAILROAD.

"SIR—While the historian deals with the dead past, I chronicle the living, breathing present; he

may immortalize names: I am compelled to suppress them entirely: yet my facts as stated are literally true.

"Some years ago there was living in Virginia a negro woman some fifty years of age, named Katy. She had been married according to the religious code of the South, by a ceremony which pledged the twain to each other 'during their lives, unless otherwise unavoidably separated.' Katy was a virtuous woman, and, so long as her husband, lived was faithful to her marriage vow, notwithstanding that sore temptations to violate it, held out by her master, were many times set before her. These temptations increased in fierceness as time rolled on, until resistance implicated her unhappy husband. He was goaded to madness by the taunts, and jibes, and threats of his licentious master. Punishment he knew would follow, yet he did resist and forbid his cowardly owner to touch his wife. The wretch struck his poor chattel with a club, and the chattel instantly felled him to the earth. The most awful retribution must follow this energetic assertion of manhood. He was taken in front of his own cabin. There his hands and feet were tied to four stakes driven into the ground for the purpose. Fast and heavy the bloody thong descended with remorseless energy upon his quivering back. His wife and two children, shrieking with horror from the spectacle of a husband and father tortured thus barbarously at his own door, fled weeping from the cabin. But the plantation despot drove them back, and compelled them to remain within hearing. There they listened to the wild shrieks of an awful agony they were powerless to mitigate, until nature gave way. The strong man was crushed. Shrieks gave way to groans; his body ceased to quiver. His hands and feet were loosened, but he made no sign: the poor creature had been beaten insensible. He was flung, like a dead dog, into his little cabin—no bed, no couch, only the earthen floor to lie on. There, without physician, medicine, or nurse, he was left alone with his wife. But nursing, or medicine, or physician, availed nothing now. He died before daybreak—literally whipped to death. Though this was years and years ago, yet Katy even now weeps like a child when repeating the details of this fiendish outrage. The poor lacerated body was taken out and buried like a dog. Nothing was said on the plantation or in the neighbourhood about this infernal deed: none but blacks had witnessed it, and they dare not remonstrate. If the neighbouring planters heard of it, they prudently made no inquiry. Negroes were insolent, and must be punished; and a like accident might possibly occur with them, when they should need the same forbearance they now practised.

"This murder left Katy a widow with two children, both girls, of ten and twelve years old. It also raised up in her a determined resolution to break away and be free; and hereupon the latent energy of her nature came into powerful action. She knew that money was indispensable, so she worked and toiled between tasks that her virtuous resistance caused her master to increase in severity, and, by trafficking with the negroes around, accumulated a small sum. But it took twenty years to do so. During this long night of darkness she had no human sympathy but her

\* It has been reprinted by the *Edinburgh Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society* in a tract form.—Ed. A. S. R.

unshaken determination to be free. Meanwhile, her two girls, grown large enough to be profitable as breeders, had been married to fellow-slaves on the same plantation. Each had now three children. Katy saw with grief these new impediments to liberty springing up around her, but without the power to prevent it. She felt that she could easily provide for her own safety in flight, but was resolved to leave neither child nor grandchild in bondage. She saw, too, that those incumbrances were increasing in number, that her master was becoming embarrassed in his finances, and that some of them must be sold to relieve him. It might be her own offspring who would thus be taken. While they were united was therefore the time for them to fly. The flight agreed upon, preparation was made, and a night selected. Of this family of two daughters, their husbands, and six children, Katy alone possessed a dollar. The rest were penniless; and if money were to be needed, her scanty savings were their sole dependence. Preparations being all made, and the hour of departure almost come, one of Katy's daughters suddenly gave out. She had always been fearful of failure, and now her courage gave way. She refused to go. In this unexpected dilemma, the heroic mother was calm and resolute, and allowed of no derangement in her plans. Her mind had evidently come to some unexplained conclusion. About an hour before midnight the whole party, one daughter alone excepted, took up their dangerous march.

"I cannot undertake to give a tithe of the particulars of the perilous journey thus begun; but its incidents were most painful and exciting, while at times they were sadly discouraging. There were six young children to provide for—some to carry, some even to nurse, and all to be prevented from crying or complaining aloud. Then, food must be provided, for the stock they started with was soon exhausted. By daylight they concealed themselves in swamps or thickets, sometimes lying a whole day in the water. By night they travelled slowly, because they must move silently and with extreme caution. Twice they heard the distant baying of dogs, but not their master's, though they were evidently in chase of other runaways. Once, when but indifferently concealed within a swamp, they could distinctly hear the tramping of horsemen and their shouts to each other. As they shunned the public roads, even in the darkest nights, it may be supposed their clothes were soon worn to tatters by the thickets or briars through which their straightforward journey led them. The North Star was their only guide. Wherever that stood they hurried onward, for they had always heard that beneath it there was no Slavery. The six children were terrible clogs to their progress; but their fathers were strong men, with singularly patient dispositions. The heroine of this expedition never faltered for a moment. Once fairly clear from her master's plantation, her courage rose into assurance of success, and she performed prodigies of endurance. She forded creeks with a heavy child on her shoulder, and swam broad rivers, supporting with one hand the same laborious burden. Her mind was so extensively excited, that she slept but little, and ate even less. Every faculty was strung to its highest tension. As she was the leader of the troop into

the wilderness, so she was the life and soul of it through all its tortuous wanderings.

"How long they starved and shivered on this journey Katy is unable to tell. She thinks it must have been four weeks. At the end of that period, as near as can be judged, and some three hours after nightfall, while quietly trampling over a ploughed field, they were brought suddenly to a halt by a high and substantially-built fence. While examining how it was best to be got over, the figure of a man unexpectedly revealed itself to them. He had been standing against the fence when they came up, had heard and seen them, but they had not seen him. Fear took possession of them for the moment, and they huddled round poor Katy. The young children also began to cry. No wonder. It was the first white man they had seen since they fled from their master's. 'Who are you?' the man shouted; but the fugitives made no reply. One of them, dropping a child from his shoulder, and passing over to his wife, put himself in a posture of defence with a short heavy club, which he quickly drew from the belt by which it was suspended behind him. The stranger again called out, 'Are you looking for friends?' To which Katy quickly answered, 'Oh yes Master; for God's sake help us!' Instantly he opened the door of a dark lantern which he carried in his hand, and the full flash from a brilliant burner fell directly on the fugitives. Dazzled by the glare, they covered their eyes, and, while thus half blinded by the sudden illumination, he came close up to them. He comprehended the case in an instant. 'Be quiet, and don't be afraid,' he said: 'you are now among friends, and I will take care of you. Come with me.'

"The fugitives were in Pennsylvania. They had struck the first station on the Underground Railroad, and this man was the resident agent.

"He closed his lantern, and led the way toward a light, which, for the first time, they now saw gleaming over the fields a mile a-head. It was the agent's residence. When they reached it, he led them to a barn near by, unlocked the door, and directed them to lie down on a wide-spread hay-mow, where the hay had evidently been prepared more for sleeping purposes than for feeding cattle. Here he asked them, in the kindest manner, if any of them were hungry. Katy tells me now that the soft, kind, and pitying voice of this good man fell upon her heart with an overwhelming tenderness that melted her into tears. All doubts of her having got among friends instead of enemies were now removed, and she gave way to a burst of thankfulness and of weeping, confessing that none but the children of the party had eaten any thing for two days. Their protector told them to remain perfectly quiet, not to answer any person but himself, should they be spoken to from the outside, and he would shortly return with provision for them. Oh, what a contrast it was! the first kind word from a white man that any of them had heard for years. He passed out of the door, locked it behind him, and in half an hour returned, bearing a large bucket of hot milk, with bread, meat, and warm potatoes. His wife came with warm water in which to wash the children's feet, which she knew by former experience would be found torn and blistered by hard travel, and ointment in which to wrap them

up for the night. These famished creatures devoured the providential supply of food with eager thankfulness. How little can we who hear this narrative realize their true condition—two days without eating! The grateful meal over, they threw themselves down to sleep—tired, sore, and emaciated; and, for the first time in many nights, were able to dismiss all fear of either bloodhound or of man.

"This agent of the Underground had sons and daughters, grown up men and women. It might possibly interest you to know how many. You might even like to know their ages, and even whether his house was built of wood, of brick, or of stone. Others would undoubtedly like to know his name, and exactly where his farm was located. I doubt not all their names have been written by the recording angel in a volume into whose immortal pages no human eye will ever penetrate. There let them be hidden until the Angel of the Resurrection reads them out through that awful trumpet, whose electrifying tones shall wake up the dead of all nations from their long-forgotten graves. Let his farm, his house, and his location, remain in the same holy and peaceful obscurity that encompassed them when the torn and jaded fugitive first heard his hailing sign in the midnight air. I am shut out from names, and dates, and places. Oh that I dared go into these! But where eloquence would be natural and inevitable, it would be wholly out of place.

All the following day the fugitives lay snug in the hay-mow. The women and children were literally in rags. Some had cuts in their feet, and grievous bruises and scratches on their limbs. But in all these particulars the agent had not been taken by surprise: his daughters clothed them anew; the oil and wine of the good Samaritan flowed freely and gratefully. So much for the wife and daughters. That night the sons, with fleet horses, performed their part in this romance of freedom. What delays they met with—when, how, or where—it matters not to state; but God favoured the fugitives, and they entered Philadelphia.

But the remarkable incident of the story remains to be told. The widowed Katy was famous as a cook. She immediately hired out in an hotel, and, when she had saved three months' wages, quitted her place, and set off on her return to Virginia, determined to save that daughter whose sudden timidity had caused her to refuse joining in the general flight. This bold woman had formed this very determination when she first discovered her daughter's intention to remain on the plantation. Her mind came to the conclusion instantly, that, if they all succeeded in getting off, she would return into the lion's den and rescue her child.

On this return journey she travelled alone. Having no children to embarrass her, and but a single care upon her thoughts, she pushed forward with elastic heart and step, and, after numerous hardships and dangers, found herself in a dense thicket on her master's plantation. Here she quickly revealed her presence to her fellow-slaves. They were confounded by her hardihood, and listened with eager attention to the story of her dangers, her successes, and her explanation of what she had in view. They related to her how exasperated her master had

been on discovering that ten of his chattels had gone off in a body; that when pursuit had been found unavailing, her poor timid daughter had been subjected to repeated torture to compel a disclosure of the plot; that from this cruelty she was even then scarcely recovered; that in the interval the master had died, and that his negroes were all soon to be sold at auction. With her usual quickness of purpose, Katy resolved to be off immediately. The negroes brought the daughter to her the same night. As there was nothing about which to debate, and as the wardrobe of a slave is always on his back, they were ready to start on the instant. Long before midnight they began their flight. Two stalwart negro men, glowing with aspirations for liberty, accompanied them. It was lucky for all that they did. The daughter, still weak and sore from her terrible punishments, broke down on the way. They carried her whenever she was unable to walk, and heroically bore her over creek, and swamp, and river. That sentinel, divinely stationed in the heavens, the North Star, still shone before them, still proved their guide. The extraordinary sagacity of Katy was shewn through the journey. Her memory was such that she was able to recognise the features of the slavery-blasted region through which she passed, so that she followed very nearly the same route she had taken on the first stampede. Extraordinary as it may seem, this remarkable woman found her way a second time to the Samaritan who kept the hay-mow on the Underground road. She marched bravely up to the farm-house, in a blinding tempest of rain, at midnight. A light was streaming from an upper window, shewing that some one of the family was about. While the others sheltered themselves under the lee of the building, she knocked timidly at the door. It was opened by the good man of the house. He beckoned her in, having immediately recognised her, and motioned her to a chair which stood in the hall. Here she sat down. No persons were visible below, but overhead she heard voices and footsteps and sobbing. There was sore sickness and grief in that house. The daughter who, on a former occasion, had washed her grandchildren's feet, anointed them and bound them up, was dying. With faltering accents the father told the dripping fugitive the story of his child's sickness and approaching dissolution, as he piloted her and her companions to the well-remembered hay-mow. But in his own grief he did not forget theirs. Dry clothing, warm food, and safe shelter were all extended to them as aforetime. The good man's daughter died at daybreak; but that night the sons were far on their way with the fugitives to the next station. They reached their journey's end in safety.

Here let me conclude by challenging the annals of human daring to produce an instance of heroism more lofty than this. I have purposely suppressed some horrors, but have added no embellishment to enhance the interest of the narrative. All the leading facts are scrupulously true; some others, so interesting as to add materially to the romance of the narrative, I have been compelled reluctantly to suppress; but it is impossible, without danger of identification, to describe minute particulars. There are, even

in the slave region, soft hearts and open hands. They will unquestionably receive the Divine reward; and the cup of cold water to the fainting fugitive will not be forgotten in the great day of account.

#### THE AFRICAN MOTHER.

WE have been favoured with the following extract from a letter of the Rev. H. Townsend, a Church Missionary at Abbeokuta, who relates the painful incident we reproduce, as an illustration of the horrible nature of Slavery wherever it exists.

"One of our converts living near to us found a living child, a little boy about six months old, cast out into a waste place to perish. He took it up and brought it to us. The mother was sought for, and proved to be a slave from a distant country on sale. Her owner had taken the child, unknown to the wretched mother, and cast it away, to prevent its being an incumbrance to her. The child's clothes, a few rags &c., were found with the child, and these the poor woman first recognised when taken to the converts' house. She quickly understood that some evil had befallen her child, and became deeply distressed. She stood weeping bitterly, holding the child's clothes, uttering no cry, but her whole frame seemed moved by a grief too deep for words. Unfortunately, none of us knew her language, and therefore could offer her but little consolation. We sought for an interpreter, but without success, and we scarcely knew what to do in so painful a case. To give her back the child was but to insure its destruction; yet how to withhold it we knew not. At last we resolved to shew her the child. She took it, and gave it the breast almost mechanically, without uttering a word, as one bewildered. What the poor creature thought or felt we could not ascertain. As a last effort to relieve the mother and child, we made up our minds to redeem them, which we are enabled to do at the cost of 9*l*. We know that our friends in England will not be backward to supply us with funds for this and similar cases. The child was injured in the neck and head, and suffered much pain when moved, and subsequently died, probably from the injuries received and the exposure at so tender an age. We have another case for redemption—a child just beginning to talk, not two years, and able walk, for which I paid the sum of sixteen and sixpence! Well may it be said of the heathen, that their tender mercies are cruel."

#### ANTI-SLAVERY ITEMS.

**THE COOLIES IN CUBA.**—A Virginia gentleman of intelligence, who recently visited Cuba, gives a sad picture of the toils and sufferings to which the Coolie slaves are subjected. They have nothing like the capacity of the negro for labour and endurance, and yet the same tasks are imposed upon them. When not engaged in the field, they herd indiscriminately—men women and children—in huts, with no semblance of family ties or obligations. Suicide is common

among them, sometimes ten or dozen hanging themselves at a time. No provision is made for their return to their native land, from which they have been beguiled; and their masters having no interest in them, except to get the greatest amount of work possible out of them during their period of apprenticeship, heap upon them an amount of labour that soon breaks them down, and often carries them to their grave.—*Oswego Times*.

THE SLAVE CROP OF VIRGINIA amounts to twelve million dollars per year, sold to go to Georgia, Mississippi, Alabama, &c. How many of these are raised and sold by Methodist masters? This breeding-ground of Slavery for the nation is within the bounds of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and its chief slave-breeders are Methodists. How do their surplus slaves get into the hands of the traders, and their price into the hands of these Methodists, if they do not sell them, as the Rev. James Quin, of the Philadelphia Conference, sold his? If members of Conference sell slaves, why should not the private members?—*Northern Independent*.

#### BRITISH ABOLITIONIST MOVEMENTS.

##### BIRMINGHAM LADIES' NEGROES' FRIEND SOCIETY.

A LARGE Meeting of the *Ladies' Negroes' Friend Society* was held at Birmingham on the 25th ult.; and, after much information on Coolie Immigration had been presented to the Meeting, from the *Anti-Slavery Society* in London, and other sources, it was concluded to forward a Petition to both Houses of Parliament against the Jamaica Immigrant Bill, and to urge the whole question being brought under the investigation of a Parliamentary Committee. Evidence was adduced from the Reports of the Birmingham Society many years since of the disastrous effects of these schemes, against which their protests were often repeated.

#### Review.

THE January Number (1859) of the Quarterly Review entitled *Meliora*, contains an article on "Our Cotton Supply," which will abundantly repay perusal. It is full of facts, and the arguments urged on the subject of the complicity of England with the American slaveholders, as the purchaser of what the latter produce, are irresistible. We regret to see so able an article disfigured by a reproduction of the falsehoods to which the *Edinburgh Review* of last October gave currency, relative to Liberia. Those statements we emphatically deny on the highest authority, and we trust, in a future article, to see the writer of the calumny we have referred to—probably promulgated in ignorance of the facts—do what he can to remove the reproach by confessing his error.